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P. Gooderham

THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT IN RUSSIA,

1905 - 1917

Ph.D. dissertation,
University of Bristol, 1981.

THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT IN RUSSIA, 1905 - 1917:

Ph.D. dissertation, submitted by P. Gooderham

SYNOPSIS:

The dissertation represents a study of the anarchist movement which arose in Russia immediately prior to the revolution of 1905, and concerns itself with the period from 1905 until the spring of 1918, when the first mass arrests of anarchists occurred under Soviet rule.

In essence, the aims of the study are to trace the influence and support of the anarchist movement during both revolutionary upheavals in Russia, 1905 and 1917. The main thrust of the thesis is an attempt to demonstrate that the Russian anarchist movement, though small in numbers, asserted a disproportionately large degree of influence amongst specific sections of the population. Further, it is argued that this influence would have been still greater, particularly in 1917, had the anarchists been able to capitalise on their support and unite their forces around some form of organisational structure. Their failure in this respect is seen as the main cause of their swift disappearance from the revolutionary scene after 1917, an easy prey for Bolshevik suppression.

The dissertation opens with a brief introduction reviewing the current state of Western and Soviet academic research on the Russian anarchist movement,

and notes the inherent problems encountered in the search for primary source materials.

Chapter I discusses the main tenets of the ideology espoused by the Russian anarchists in the period under study. There then follows an analysis of the role and influence of the anarchists in the 1905 revolution, together with a discussion of the reasons for their failure to make more of their early successes.

Chapter IV looks in detail at the anarchist movement in emigration in the West in the period between the two revolutions, 1907 - 1917. Finally, Chapters V and VI concern themselves with the anarchist movement in the 1917 revolution, split into the period February-October, 1917, and the early months of Soviet power, October, 1917 - April, 1918.

A concluding chapter brings together the main themes of the dissertation and reasserts the reasons for the need for a study of the Russian anarchists.

MEMORANDUM

This is to certify that the work contained in this dissertation was my own, and was in no way conducted in collaboration with any other person or persons.

Peter Gooderham

P. Gooderham

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Finally, special thanks to Liz Greenall, who typed, corrected and typed again, and who in doing so overcame the twin hurdles of Russian transliteration and my handwriting! Naturally, all remaining faults and inconsistencies are entirely my own responsibility.

LIST OF RUSSIAN WORDS USED IN THE TEXT:

The transliteration system of the Library of Congress has been used throughout. The only exceptions to this rule are those surnames which, for one reason or another, have come to be rendered in a different fashion in the West (e.g. Tolstoy, Trotsky, Schapiro).

bezpartiinye - non-party

Cheka (Chrezvychainaia komissia) (1918-1922) - First Soviet Secret Police organisation. Literally, the Extraordinary Commission for the Struggle Against Counterrevolution and Sabotage.

gubernia - province

ispolkom - (ispolnitel'nyi komitet) - Executive Committee

oblast' - geographical region or province

Okhrana (Okhrannoe otделение) - Secret political police department in Tsarist Russia

partkom (partiinyi komitet) - party committee

raion - administrative region or district

revvoensovet (revoliutsionnyi voennyi sovet) - revolutionary war council

Sovnarkhoz (Sovet narodnogo khoziaistva) - Council of National Economy

Sovnarkom (Sovet Narodnykh Komissarov) - Council of People's Commissars

uezd - geographical district

voenrevkom (voennyi revoliutsionnyi komitet) -
Military-revolutionary committee.

VTsIK - (Vserossiiskii Tsentral'nyi Ispolnitel'nyi
Komitet) - The All-Russian Central Executive
Committee.

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION:

This dissertation is not a study of why the anarchists failed to "win" the Russian revolution. Disregarding any measure of numerical strength, the concept of "winning" a revolution, i.e. taking power in some way, is not one that can sensibly be applied to anarchists, and they themselves would not have gauged success or failure in these terms. Neither is it an account of the swift and bloody demise of the anarchists after April 1918, even though such a study in itself would be interesting and would provide a further insight into early Bolshevik suppression of other revolutionary groups.

Instead, the primary aims of the dissertation are to attempt to answer questions about a) the influence and b) the social base of support for anarchism in Russia from the time of its first appearance, alongside the 1905 revolution, to the height of its success, in the summer of 1918. It is thus intended to demonstrate that though the Russian anarchists were undoubtedly small in number, nevertheless at certain times they exerted a disproportionately large degree of influence amongst sections of the population which were easily mobilised to revolutionary action.

To this extent, the study opens with a brief account of the ideology of Russian anarchism in the period

under review. There then follows an analysis of the influence and role of the anarchists in the first revolutionary period, together with a discussion of the reasons for the movement's failure to make more of its early successes. This in turn leads to an account of the anarchist movement in emigration and underground in Russia, between 1907-1917. Finally, the dissertation addresses itself to the extent of the appearance of an anarchist movement both between February and October 1917, and in the period immediately following the Bolshevik seizure of power.

Western scholars have traditionally ignored or paid insufficient attention to the role of the anarchists in the Russian revolution, arguing that as they neither had any bearing on the power structure, nor fared well in elections to government institutions and labour organisations, they warrant at best a passing mention in an account of the revolutionary events in Russia. There are only two English-language works which deal specifically with the anarchist movement, both written by P. Avrich.⁽¹⁾ Written in the 1960s, both are extremely well researched books, and Avrich clearly made use of every source material available to him. However, the works suffer a) because they appeared before the Soviet authorities began allowing Western scholars access to their archive holdings, and also before the resurgence of interest in anarchism within the Soviet

Union and b) because Avrich falls into the trap of an insufficiently critical appraisal of the available source material left behind by the anarchists. Further, to a large extent Avrich's task was for the first time to document in a straightforward, descriptive manner the history of the Russian anarchists. This he did, for the most part, admirably, but he left to one side the questions of the influence and social base of Russian anarchism, questions which form the central theme of this dissertation.

The only other available literature in the English language comes in the form of books written by Russian anarchists once in permanent exile in the West.⁽²⁾ For the most part, these works have only recently appeared in translated form, reflecting the revival of interest in anarchism in general at the end of the 1960s. The obvious shortcomings of these works, bias and shortage of memory, nevertheless should not dissuade us from considering them as an invaluable source of information on the anarchist movement.⁽³⁾

Finally, mention should be made of the existence of a number of Western works on the ideology of Russian anarchism of this period, including several about Kropotkin. Insofar as these works provide insights into the philosophical development of Russian anarchism, they lie largely outside the scope of this study, and so are useful only as general background information.⁽⁴⁾

This paucity of interest in the Russian anarchist movement has not been reflected, however, among Soviet historians. Between 1917 and the beginning of the 1930s a large number of books and articles on the Russian anarchists appeared, often written by reformed anarchists themselves, and these both reflect the importance of the movement to the new Soviet regime and provide us with the best secondary source material. For the following thirty years almost nothing on the Russian anarchists was written in the Soviet Union. However, from the early 1960s Soviet historians have shown a revived interest in all aspects of the anarchist movement, and several of the works which have appeared have made full use of the primary source material available to them.⁽⁵⁾

The present Soviet view of the Russian anarchists, as opposed to anarchism in general, is far from totally hostile. While a grudging respect is reserved for Bakunin, Kropotkin is openly heralded as a great, albeit misguided, Russian revolutionary, and he even has a town in the Kuban named after him.⁽⁶⁾ Praise is also heaped upon individual anarchists who helped the Bolsheviks in the Civil War, so-called "Soviet anarchists".⁽⁷⁾ More generally, some of the more liberal Soviet historians have argued that the "genuine" anarchists, between February 1917 and April 1918, were well-intentioned revolutionaries who became victims of the criminal activities of their opportunist comrades.⁽⁸⁾

These views are, however, no more than concessions to the standard view that soon after its reappearance in February 1917, Russian anarchism became first the hidden, and then the open enemy of the Bolsheviki and Soviet power. The need to take seriously the appearance of anarchism in Russia was stressed by early Soviet writers in the years after the Civil War. They especially warned of the dangers from infiltration of anarcho-syndicalism that could result from an ignorance of the causes of anarchism in Russia.⁽⁹⁾

From these early days all Soviet writers have adhered strictly to the view that anarchism appealed to the déclassé elements of the working class, the middle peasantry, the petty-bourgeoisie, and the criminal fraternity in particular. Some have gone further, however, and have tacitly accepted in their analyses that a real ideological battle had to be carried out by the Bolsheviki to woo important sections of the workers, soldiers and peasantry from the anarchists.⁽¹⁰⁾ In broad terms, this is also the view of this author. The argument here will go another stage, and posit that had it not been for internal tactical disagreements and organisational shortcomings, the anarchists would have posed an even greater danger to the Bolshevik regime, given the influence that the movement won for itself.

Finally, a word on primary source materials. Any study of anarchism is immediately seriously hampered by the fact that anarchists themselves are traditionally not known for the keeping even of party cards, let alone minutes of meetings or records of a more general nature. Most Russian anarchists considered the concept of an anarchist party to be a contradiction in terms and certainly saw no need to regularly attend meetings and vote on resolutions. They relied rather on the medium of the pamphlet, journal or newspaper to air their views and bind themselves together, however loosely, into some form of organisation.

These journals are to some extent available in the West, and they provide an invaluable source in attempting to gauge the sphere of activity of the anarchists both inside Russia and abroad, while also allowing us to make an assessment of their views on events occurring in the motherland. However, as was noted above in connection with Avrich's work, they contain within themselves obvious shortcomings, not least of which is their biased appraisal of the movement's own strengths. Therefore, they have to be approached with kid-gloves.

The other major source of primary materials available are the records kept by the Okhrana up to February 1917, now housed in the Tsentral'nyi Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Oktiabr'skoi Revoliutsii (TsGAOR) in Moscow.

These records are indeed an invaluable source, but again care has to be taken, since the tsarist secret police agents often cared little about what they considered to be the subtle differences between all the Russian revolutionary parties. Thus, not all the information contained in the Okhrana files on the anarchists actually relates to anarchist groups.

Lastly, there are Soviet records and statistical information, which taken on their own quickly lead one to the conclusion that there were almost no anarchists in Russia after February 1917. These are the sources that Western historians have commonly relied on when drawing their conclusions on the strength of the anarchist movement. But here, more than anywhere, the material must be treated with caution - far from all anarchists would have anything to do with elections even to factory committees let alone any government or administrative apparatus, however revolutionary it might have appeared to other parties, and so their absence, or very poor showing, in these institutions should not lead us to the conclusion that the anarchist presence in Russia in 1917-1918 was barely noticeable.

With these warnings in mind, before looking at the origins and first appearances of Russian anarchism, we must first ask the question, what was Russian anarchism? It is to a brief analysis of this that we turn now.

CHAPTER I

THE IDEOLOGY OF THE RUSSIAN ANARCHISTS:

THE IDEOLOGY OF THE RUSSIAN ANARCHISTS:

This chapter does not attempt to review the whole spectrum of Russian anarchist thought. Indeed, the ideology of the Russian anarchist movement, or of anarchism as a whole, is not easy to pin down, largely because of the varying degrees of emphasis particular anarchist thinkers have placed on the elements that can be said to form the basic traits, the lowest common denominators of anarchism.⁽¹⁾

Rather, the intention here is merely to provide a backdrop to the whole study, and to fix clearly in our minds what the Russian anarchist movement saw as its main objectives.

Although Bakunin can be said to have been the father of Russian anarchism, it was Kropotkin who laid down the ideological foundations for the movement which arose in Russia at the beginning of the twentieth century. It is important to state at the very outset, however, that the essential elements of Kropotkin's thought, which came to be known as anarchist communism, had their roots firmly in the nineteenth century. Its mixture of economic egalitarianism and political freedom, based on the assumption of man's natural desire to aid his fellowman in a stateless society, was a philosophy effectively forged in the middle of the 1870s. Even then Kropotkin never claimed to be the originator of the body of thought, preferring to see

himself as the anarchist who put ideas that had been circulating for some time into a rational scientific form.

* * * * *

What, then, was this body of thought, and which aspects of it were particularly stressed by the Russian anarchist writers in the early twentieth century?

In its broadest perspective, it contained three elements. First, a distrust, dislike, or hatred (depending on the emphasis) of any organised structure or authority - and in this it counted the state, any state, as the most advanced, perfect example of organised violence upon the community as a whole. Second, a belief that only a revolution, not necessarily violent, but definitely all-encompassing in its effect on society, could rid communities of all the elements that make up authority. And third, to an extent allied to the first two ideas, a positive belief in the freedom of the individual to follow his own wants and fulfil his own needs. In addition, one should add two beliefs, two articles of faith even, one negative and one positive, that were inherent in the psychological make-up of the anarchist. The first was a complete rejection of the laws, morality and religion of the society in which the anarchist happened to be living, and the second,

almost paradoxically it might seem, was his faith in human improvement and the imminence of the perfectibility of man.

Let us first examine the Russian anarchists' ideas on power and the state. It was, after all, on the question of the abolition of the state that anarchists and socialists traditionally had come to blows, and it was to be over the notion of political power held in the hands of a party, however revolutionary, that the anarchists were to launch their critique of the Bolsheviks after 1917. Put quite simply, for the anarchist removal of state power was a necessary condition of any revolution, if it were to be successful; and the term removal did not include any notion of the state "withering away" or of any temporary proletariat dictatorship.

Although both socialists and anarchists in Russia held up the disappearance of the state as an ideal, the latter put considerably more emphasis on it. While the Marxists had traditionally seen the state as a political superstructure dividing society into classes, "withering away" after a protracted period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the anarchists insisted that time was of the essence. They were well aware of some of the more libertarian statements that Marx and Engels had made on occasion, and that the latter had proclaimed that the state's first act for the benefit of the people would at the

same time be its last. "The difference is only that the anarchists, in short, want to destroy the state in twenty-four hours, but for Engels the operation... will last a little longer. A little longer! That's the whole trouble!"⁽²⁾

This argument was, of course, by no means a new one by the onset of the twentieth century. It had been the main ideological stumbling block between Bakunin and Marx and had been instrumental in the breaking up of the First International. But the Russian anarchists also concentrated their attacks on the contemporary socialists' wavering attitude towards the state and what they considered to be their lust for political power and bureaucracy. As one anarchist journal put it, "The state takes on some sort of secret existence in the social democratic theory of the future: it will both appear and disappear: it vacillates eternally between life and death. One is young and hearty, displaying all the signs of health, the other is sickly and waning, living out its last days."⁽³⁾ Everything depended, it seemed, on whose interests the state was expressing, the workers or the bourgeoisie.

For the anarchists, the state was above such consideration. It was its very power that was evil, regardless of which section of society was wielding it, and this power was in no way connected with laws of property or economic relationships. And the fact

that the Russian state was an autocratic one led the Russian anarchists to consider that their struggle against it had to be all the more determined than that of their Western European comrades.

* * * * *

The anarchist theory of revolution also differed fundamentally from that of the Marxist in that, following on from their strict antistatism, they could not define a revolution as a seizure of power, whether for a party or for some section of the population. In this sense, it can be said that they saw no need for a "revolutionary government" of any sort. Their revolution was to be a "social" one - if it did not abolish the state, the government and politics, then the anarchists did not consider it to be a social revolution, but simply a political one. They totally rejected what they termed the "statist" conception of the revolution, where some sort of termination of the revolutionary process was envisaged, and where the future of the people would subsequently be determined by a handful of new masters. As Voline, one of the major Russian anarchist figures, wrote after 1917, "it is clear that the authoritarian principle and the revolutionary principle are diametrically opposed and mutually exclusive - and that the revolutionary principle is essentially turned toward the future, while the other is tied by all its roots to the past, and thus is reactionary".⁽⁴⁾

No centralised state apparatus would be capable of dealing with the huge problems which the revolution would inevitably face, even if that state apparatus comprised, as the Marxists envisaged, workers (and, possibly, peasants). So their ideas on the state and on revolution were closely interlinked, in that they believed that any government, whether revolutionary or not, was above all concerned with keeping itself in power, and would act accordingly, in the interests of its own self-preservation.

The anarchists disagreed fundamentally with the Bolsheviks on the notion of a revolutionary party. In 1913, Lenin wrote that "the Marxists have a fundamentally different view (from the anarchists) of the relation of the unorganised... masses to the party, to organisation. It is to enable the mass of a definite class to learn to understand its own interests and its position, to learn to conduct its own policy, that there must be an organisation of the advanced elements of the class, immediately and at all costs, even though at first these elements constitute only a tiny fraction of the class".⁽⁵⁾ No anarchist saw any role at all for such a political party, which was somehow to act as a "vanguard", to direct the workers and peasants towards revolution. On the contrary, as Kropotkin claimed, "it is the workers' and peasants' initiative that all parties - the socialist authoritarian party included - have

always stifled, wittingly or not, by party discipline.".(6)

Great stress, therefore, was laid throughout on the need for the revolution to be created by the spontaneity and initiative of the masses, and on the fact that the revolution had ultimately to be "social", and not just political. As far as Russia was concerned, historical conditions meant that the oppressed had to struggle both for political liberation and economic freedoms at the same time, a two-headed task which in the countries of Western Europe had been decided in two different epochs and under the influences of different ideological tendencies. This had the advantage, as far as the anarchists were concerned, of making a genuinely all-encompassing social revolution in Russia particularly likely.

Further, the anarchists constantly tried to argue that their ideology represented the true interests of all oppressed people, and, within the Russian framework, they were never slow to point out the inconsistencies in the Marxists' attitude to the backward, "unreliable" peasants. Significantly, in the category of oppressed many anarchists included not just the proletariat or the peasantry, but also the lumpenproletariat, an element that Marx had considered to have no positive role to play. Indeed, there is evidence at hand to suggest, as we shall see, that Russian anarchism attracted into its ranks mainly the lesser-educated, poorer workers and peasants from

those areas where the anarchists themselves attempted to spread their word, elements who found the tenets of Marxism too elaborate to grasp, and the propaganda of the Socialist Revolutionaries insufficiently maximalist.

* * * * *

For Kropotkin, the notion of individual liberty through free cooperation was at the root of the positive element of his teaching, based on a fundamental belief in the innate goodness of man. This belief took him away from the narrow confines of the political and economic struggle, and encouraged him to analyse all forms of social life, notably marriage, education, morality, religion, and crime and punishment.

Kropotkin argued that the individual should be fully free to realise all his aims so long as they were beneficial both for himself and for society at large.⁽⁷⁾ In his article on anarchism written for the Encyclopedia Brittanica, he advised that what the anarchist should be striving towards was to help man reach "full individualisation, which is not possible under either the present system of individualism, or under any system of state socialism".⁽⁸⁾ Such an ideal, Kropotkin believed, was neither utopian nor metaphysical.

The Kropotkinist anarchists enlarged on this by concentrating much of their attention on what they

termed the social freedom of the individual (as opposed to the false notion of absolute physical freedom). This had to be unconditional, since they believed that behind every human existence lay an innate right to the free and harmonious development of natural desires. Thus, if the individual was being oppressed in society, it was not the fault of society as such, but was due only to the form in which society was manifested. For the anarchist communists society had been created as a positive factor of evolution, on the level of the inevitable struggle of man against his environment, a fact which they accused individualist anarchists of forgetting in the light of the many faults of contemporary societies, all of which were due entirely to the presence of the state and private property.⁽⁹⁾

While this divergence over the notion of freedom existed between the anarchist communists and the individualist anarchists, there was nevertheless complete agreement that they did not stand for what they termed "bourgeois freedoms", which left undisturbed the economic base - private property.

Much of the positive belief in the freedom of the individual in society manifested itself in the writings of the Russian anarchists in the form of attacks on the notion of private property. And at first sight, there was no apparent difference between the Marxist and the anarchist over the concept of property. Alien

to both creeds, the anarchist critique of private property could be just as damning as the Marxists'. Thus, one anarchist could write in the journal Burevestnik that private property, "so long as it has existed, has served as a stimulus for both individual and social violence... It has enslaved economically and politically the workers and productive elements of society, having concentrated throughout the ages all the accumulated treasures, both material and spiritual in the arms of those elements who do little work and are unproductive; it has created that suffocating atmosphere of disgusting and infinite greed, in which it becomes more and more difficult for modern man to breathe; finally it enslaves and, what is much worse, corrupts the individual, morally disfigures him, producing in him the wild and grasping instinct of ownership, locking his free and powerful spirit in the clamped framework of vile materialism".⁽¹⁰⁾ In fact, the moral slavery resulting from the acquisition of private property was, for the anarchist, far more horrific in its consequences than the economic slavery which Marx had concentrated on. This stemmed from the fact that the anarchist refused to see in man simply a producer, believing production always to be secondary in relation to needs.⁽¹¹⁾

As far as the question of property related to the peasant and his land, the anarchists, believing that the peasantry itself would be able to organise its

own life after the revolution, rejected the need to nationalise the land so as to undertake large-scale, centralised rural production. Instead, they preached an agrarian programme of obshchinas, united along federative lines into one general union, wherein each unit would retain full autonomy and independence.⁽¹²⁾ Moreover, they considered their words to be music to the ears of the Russian peasants: "As our peasants consider the land to be no-one's, free; as in their environment there are strong communist traditions and communist forms of land use and economy; and as the popular masses carry within themselves an anti-statist mood, so the peasants consider our suggestions just and beneficial and... listen to our words."⁽¹³⁾

While they accepted that division of the land would depend on the needs of the local peasants, the fact that after the revolution the land would belong to everyone also meant that it would belong to no-one. An analogy was drawn between land and air, and it was believed that after a time a situation would be reached where all were using the land for the benefit of all, at which point, strictly speaking, true communism would be reached.

Alongside this form of society in the countryside, the anarchists sought a similar decentralised structure in the urban environment, and particularly in the factory. Most felt a revulsion towards centralised industrial production which was highly organised

and, to the anarchist, stifled the individuality of the worker.

Much of Kropotkin's most influential works, The Conquest of Bread and Fields, Factories and Workshops concerned themselves with an analysis of the possible structure of decentralised industry. Significantly, his plan for Russia in 1917 was not substantially different from his blueprint for the future society in 1892; that is, a federative structure of libertarian communes, intersecting at points for various purposes, with each commune itself being a federation of smaller groups of individuals.⁽¹⁴⁾

* * * * *

As for those that they considered to be the oppressors, the anarchists harboured a burning hatred for all forms of bourgeois society, a hatred which in fact was inherited more from Bakunin than Kropotkin. The Russian anarchists in their writings reserved their most vitriolic attacks for this section of society, both because of the economic inequalities inherent in it, and because of the monopoly of knowledge which they considered the bourgeoisie enjoyed. The anarchists believed the Russian bourgeoisie to be an even bigger enemy than the autocracy, in that they had much to gain from procuring a "moderate" revolution such as that in 1905. Therefore, they argued, there was no question of the proletariat ever entering into a

union with any bourgeois parties, even on a temporary basis. "The union of the two hostile classes presupposes a peace between them, and as such cannot have any practical or educational significance for the worker".⁽¹⁵⁾

Anarchists explained their dislike of the bourgeois intelligentsia in terms of the fact that society considered them to be "the carriers of the highest human ideals, champions of eternal truth", when in practice these definitions came from the mouth and pens of intellectuals themselves. In reality, the intelligentsia enjoyed both a privileged social and psychological position which they did not deserve. "All their spiritual aspirations, everything they call their social ideals, inevitably carries within itself the spirit of caste privilege", and, as far as the anarchist was concerned, there could be no truth with the existence of privilege.⁽¹⁶⁾ The upshot of this was that there had not been one revolution in the world's history which had not been interfered with by "leaders, ideologists and organisers", who were invariably neither workers nor peasants, but "intermediaries who hesitated between the ruling class of the dying epoch and the proletariat of the cities and fields". Although, because of their class characteristics and their desire for power, they took up a revolutionary position when it suited them, the intelligentsia, underneath the slogan of workers' interests, always pursued its own group or caste interests.⁽¹⁷⁾

This dislike of intellectuals, particularly those who preached socialism, remained a central theme in the anarchists' critique of modern society throughout the period of their existence. Interestingly, an anarchist writing at the end of 1917 recalled that in the early days after the February revolution socialist orators had had great difficulty in explaining their creed to their audiences of workers and soldiers, simply because the theory contained too many foreign words which rendered the speeches largely unintelligible.⁽¹⁸⁾ The anarchists preferred to believe that their message was more easily understood, and there is evidence in the events of 1917 and 1918 that this was the case amongst those sections of the workforce with low levels of political education in those areas where the anarchists managed to propagate that message.

The anarchists also aimed part of their attack on socialism by accusing it of obsessive interest in the bourgeois concepts of democracy, law and morality. In an earlier period of its existence, anarchism had been concerned to taint nineteenth century liberalism with these preoccupations, largely so as to attempt to leave no one in doubt that liberalism, while showing an admirable hostility to centralised government, was bourgeois in its origin, whereas anarchism had no such intellectual pedigree. Now it seemed to the Russian anarchists that there was no debate - liberalism was clearly the purest expression of the bourgeoisie,

the secret of its class origin having been revealed in its tactics. There was, however, still a need to expose the falsity of all bourgeois notions of social behaviour, especially those that the socialist parties professed some faith in.

All anarchists scoffed at contemporary notions of law and morality, and the anarchist terrorists in Russia made no secret of the fact that one of their aims was to break the law created by bourgeois society, as well as rejecting its morals and religion, thereby fighting the violence of the law with their own anarchist violence. The journal Buntar', for instance, denounced any "legal" struggle, a tactic palmed off by the democrats to the working class. "Our aim is to develop and deepen the spirit of destruction and rebellion. Our tactics are a struggle against all law by illegal methods.".(19)

So, although anarchism originated from a positive belief in a moral, natural man, and a faith in man's ability to live in a society with no written laws, it was nevertheless contemptuous of what it considered to be bourgeois morality, a morality invented by the oppressors of the past to justify the existence of their violent state machinery. This led socialists such as Plekhanov to claim that "An Anarchist is a man who - when he is not a police agent - is fated always and everywhere to attain the opposite of that which he attempts to achieve... The morality of the Anarchists is that of persons who look upon all human

action from the abstract view of the unlimited rights of the individual, and who, in the name of these rights, pass a verdict of "Not Guilty" on the most atrocious deeds, the most revolting arbitrary acts.".(20)

We noted above that the Russian anarchist considered all aspects of liberalism to be a sham. The main force of their critique was centred around constitutional democracy, and they entirely renounced parliamentarianism as a method of struggle towards the social revolution, refusing to take part in any elections for any kind of parliament. Thus, an anarchist declaration read at the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets admitted that they were anti-democratic, since they considered democracy to be a purely bourgeois concept.⁽²¹⁾ Taken in this context, the anarchists rejected the right of the majority to inflict its will on the minority, since right or wrong was not a question of numbers. Therefore, it can be seen that there was a two-fold rejection of democracy. On the one hand, the individual was relinquishing his rights by voting, and on the other, the result of that voting established a tyranny of the majority which in anarchist terms was every bit as dangerous as a tyranny of an individual.

All the anarchist factions included in their working programmes a clause promising to work with all their means to direct the workers from participation in elections for any state institution, both local and

central: and despite the criticisms the anarchists suffered following their anti-democratic stance in the 1905 revolution, no compromise had been made on their part by the onset of 1917. Even the less extreme anarcho-syndicalists, in calling for the liberation of the workers by non-party trade unions, declared that "democratism is an obstacle on the path of that liberation. It must be destroyed." (22)

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At the base of Kropotkin's vision lay the notion that man, not large-scale production, was the highest end, and the whole of his argument rested on the final assumption that in the future society man was willing to work without remuneration and would take from the commune only what he needed (the judge of this need being the man himself). Kropotkin made no attempt to show how the masses were to transform themselves, with neither leadership nor preconceived plan, from destroyers of the old and corrupt to builders of the new society. Further, his economic system was naive enough to assume an infinity of resources, and he failed to analyse the relative efficiency of centralised and decentralised production.

Few of the Russian anarchists in fact were either willing or able to speculate this far into the future. Most restricted themselves to questions concerning the economic relations suited to an anarchist society,

and some anarcho-syndicalists took an altogether more pragmatic view of the future society, which in their eyes was to be a federation of non-party trade unions, or syndicates, united for production and needs, in which the word "citizen" was to disappear, replaced by the concept of man as producer. The federation of all syndicates would become the centre of national statistics, would serve as the administrator for international relations, and would regularise the exchange of products with other peoples, thereby rendering useless and superfluous the whole modern state organisation of society. The new functionaries of society would not be legislators but administrators of social affairs. Industrial technology and moral self-discipline would replace the authoritarian structure of contemporary society.⁽²³⁾

If the anarchists were unable to agree over the details of their blueprint for the future, none were in any doubt as to the undesirability of the socialists' plans. Once installed in power, they predicted, the members of the new revolutionary government would be extremely loath to abandon its role of the shaper of the course of production. A remarkably accurate picture of the worst excesses of the Soviet regime in the 1930s was drawn by the anarchist V. Lintsov. Writing in 1910, he warned that the Marxist transitional government would have one overriding obsession - to feed and clothe the whole country in the shortest possible time. "They will go about their business with diligence", Lintsov

wrote, so as to rid the country of unproductiveness. "Unproductiveness will become the same bugbear that overproductiveness is now". Once this government had taken upon itself the administration of the whole economy then, after only a short period of its activity, it would make itself both necessary and indispensable, "and it will so conduct affairs that it will be impossible to go a day without the centralised regulation of the economy.".(24) Lintsov wondered if any government would be able to bear such "feverish activity", and concluded that it would either fail or "develop into the sort of dictatorship of power of the ancient Pharoahs".(25)

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As we have seen throughout this chapter, the argument between the Marxists and anarchists essentially boiled down to the use of state power either before, during or after a revolution. Much of the writings of anarchists such as Kropotkin concentrated more on a critique of Marxism than on a denunciation of capitalist society and its ills. Both anarchists and Marxists clearly felt a need to publicise their ideological differences, and both were deeply concerned about the influence of each other's ideas on the revolutionary movement as a whole.(26) As far as the anarchists were concerned, from their first appearance in Russia they made it clear in their literature that they considered the

state socialists to be their main rival for support and the most potentially harmful influence on the revolutionary aspirations of Russia's oppressed masses. (27)

Yet it is also important to realise that, particularly in their attack on capitalist society, the two bodies of thought must have appeared very similar. Indeed, it is significant that we shall see that in both 1905 and 1917 the anarchist ranks in Russia were swelled by disillusioned socialists, who appeared to have swapped allegiance following tactical rather than theoretical disagreements. It seems that in times of revolutionary upheaval the anarchist and socialist messages blended together in the eye of the disaffected, and the ideological differences to some extent were lost in the joint denunciation of the Tsar and the Provisional Government.

But this should not allow us to lose sight of what were the special features of Russian anarchism in this period. Insofar as these features differed from other revolutionary ideologies, we may safely assume that its appeal, if any, would be likely to lie with groups and sections of society more susceptible to the tenets of anarchism than, say, social democracy.

The attempt to find the social base of anarchism will be pursued in the next chapter. Let us now recap in summary form the main elements of Russian anarchism.

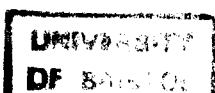
First and foremost came its critique of the state, both in the existing form in tsarist Russia, and in the state of the future envisaged by authoritarian socialists, the dictatorship of the proletariat. Alongside this critique went an unwillingness or inability to put forward detailed plans for alternative forms of society, based on the absence of any political power. Secondly, the ideology's proponents called for an immediate and total overthrow of all functions and institutions of state power. This overthrow was to be carried out without any help from any organised political party, and was to be the work of all society's oppressed classes, including the lumpenproletariat, who were indeed considered by many anarchists to be the section of society most ripe for revolutionary anarchist propaganda. This belief, combined with the total failure of many of them to come to terms with the reality of Russia's rapid economic development in the last decade of the nineteenth century, was to be of great significance to the movement during the two revolutionary periods in Russia, both in terms of the tactics employed by anarchist activists, and in the support these tactics enjoyed in the areas where the activists propagated their views.

Thirdly, anarchism proclaimed the absolute freedom of the individual in both political and economic terms. This manifested itself in turn in a demand for the total abolition of private property and the "bourgeois

freedoms" attached to the concept. Its contempt for contemporary notions of morality and law was converted both into a pledge to ignore all legalistic considerations in the struggle for a revolution in Russia and, indirectly, into a distrust and strong dislike of the intellectual stratum in Russian society.

These, then, were the distinctive features of Russian anarchism. It is to a discussion of how successful this ideology was when it came to be introduced onto Russian soil for the first time that we now turn.

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CHAPTER II

ANARCHIST TERRORISTS IN THE 1905 REVOLUTION:

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This chapter looks in detail at the activities of the anarchist terrorists in the 1905 revolution, and attempts to answer questions both about the reasons for their swift appearance on the revolutionary scene and about their social base of support in Russia. In this way it is intended to build up a picture of Russian anarchism which will give insights into the reasons for its success in the second revolutionary period, 1917-1918.

There has been some debate over the origins of Russian anarchism. Two schools of thought have emerged, one of which sees the emergence of the movement at the beginning of the twentieth century as merely a logical progression from the revolutionary period of the 1870s in Russia. Some go further and claim to be able to see in Russia's history a whole series of supposedly anarchistic manifestations, most notably the peasant revolts of Razin and Pugachev, which have demonstrated the people's traditional dislike for any and all forms of authority.⁽¹⁾ However, as Woodcock has pointed out, such manifestations stressed only the elements that made up the negative side of the anarchist world-view, and their resistance to change combined with their frequent deification of some leader or another render them closer to a conservative, authoritarian tradition in Russia's history than to any radical, libertarian one.⁽²⁾

Clearly a closer link is discernible with the revolutionary upsurge in Russia in the 1870s. This is particularly so within the realms of the history of ideas. A detailed discussion of these links is outside the scope of this study, but there is no doubt that Russian anarchism, via the influence of Bakunin and Kropotkin in particular, owed some debt to the Narodnik thinkers. In short, however, too much has been made of this connection by previous commentators. Both Avrich and Woodcock, the principal Western historians of Russian anarchism, have put great emphasis on the ideological links that can be traced between Russian anarchism and the writings of Bakunin, Herzen, Lavrov and Mikhailovsky.⁽³⁾ Some Soviet historians have also seen a continuity of ideas, but those who make the connection between the Narodniks and the Russian anarchists usually do so using the sphere of socio-economic relations, preferring not to taint the names of Russian thinkers of the 1870s with the "petit-bourgeois aspirations" of the later anarchist movement.⁽⁴⁾

It is all too easy to make a connection between, say, Bakunin, a Russian and arguably the father of anarchism, and a corresponding anarchist tradition in nineteenth century Russia when, for the most part, no such connection can be made. It is the force of Bakunin's ideas in the West that have led him to be cited as an important origin of the Russian anarchist movement. In fact, his influence in Russia, both during his lifetime and

after his death, was negligible. Neither he nor Kropotkin played any militant anarchist role inside Russia at any time.⁽⁵⁾

As for the Narodniks, even within the realms of ideas there was less in common between them and the Russian anarchists than might appear to be the case at first sight. By the onset of Narodnaia Volia many Russian revolutionaries had come to the conclusion that the winning of political freedoms was a very important, even essential condition, without which it would be impossible to prepare for a radical overthrow of society. This emphasis on the political side of the struggle was anathema to all anarchists.

So just as there was no discernible anarchist tradition in Russia, equally the experience of the 1870s left no trace of anarchist thought in the minds of any Russians bar a few members of the intelligentsia. We have to look elsewhere, to another school of thought, for the origins of the movement.

Perhaps the most significant difference between the revolutionary movement of the 1870s and the anarchist movement that emerged after the turn of the century was that the former concentrated its attention on the countryside, while the latter was to show itself to be a product of the rapidly changing urban environment, change brought about by the industrialisation and economic expansion that took place in the 1880s and 1890s in Russia. While this clearly created the

conditions for the widespread strike movement and for the organisation of socialist political parties to unite the growing industrial labour force, at the same time it heavily affected the productive capabilities of the artisan and semi-artisan sections of society, and still worsened the position of the small landowner peasant. These elements together helped to swell the numbers of the urban déclassés in Russia, those sections of society that had been uprooted from their traditional way of life by the industrial revolution, and who had been unwilling or unable to adapt to the new rigours and discipline of factory life.⁽⁶⁾

This social upheaval, then, provided anarchism with its potential bedrock of support in Russia. That it failed to make an appearance before the onset of the twentieth century was largely due to the inadequacies of the anarchist movement in Western Europe. Throughout the period leading up to the end of the century anarchists showed time and again their inability to unite and form an organisational base from which to launch a systematic propaganda campaign. As a result, before 1905 few people inside Russia had even heard of, let alone read the works of anarchism's major thinker, Kropotkin. This in turn meant that once the movement got off the ground in Russia, Kropotkin's influence on it, so great in the West, would be negligible.

Nevertheless, Kropotkin could rightly claim the title of galvaniser of the anarchist movement in Russia. From the beginning of the 1890s it became clear to him that conditions in Russia were becoming particularly favourable for the spread of anarchism.⁽⁷⁾ In the course of its development and propagation, anarchism had shown itself to find a response not in the more highly developed countries, such as England or Germany, but in comparatively backward countries still retaining a widespread distribution of small-scale production, such as Spain, Italy and even France. If organisational problems could be overcome, Russia, despite the autocratic nature of its state structure, could become a breeding-ground for the development of an anarchist movement. Factors such as the growing strike movement and increasing peasant unrest across the whole of Russia added to Kropotkin's conviction.

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Kropotkin only began then, to make real efforts to forge an anarchist movement in Russia in the 1890s. In 1892 a group of Russian students in Geneva formed an anarchist propaganda circle, which was led by a young Armenian doctor, Aleksandr Atabekian. Calling themselves the Anarchist Library the group attempted unsuccessfully to smuggle illegal

anarchist literature into Russia, literature that was, however, published on their own printing-press. It was this printing-press that attracted Kropotkin to the Geneva group and from 1897 he began a regular correspondence with two of the Geneva group, with a view to establishing the first Russian-language newspaper to be aimed directly at Russia and its events. The correspondence led to a close friendship between Kropotkin and the two young émigrés, Maria Isidorovna Goldsmith (a.k.a. Korn) and G. Gogelia (a.k.a. K. Orgeiani), a Georgian. Both were to become central figures in the propagation of Kropotkin's views both inside Russia and amongst revolutionary émigré circles.

Goldsmith lived with her mother in a small flat in Geneva, surrounded by an impressive library of Russian and French anarchist publications. By the beginning of 1905 the flat had become the regular meeting-place for the anarchist émigré circles in the city.⁽⁸⁾ Georgii Il'ch Gogelia was born in 1878 in Ozurgeta, Kutaisi gubernaiia. At the age of nineteen he enrolled at the Lyons Agricultural Institute, moving to Lausanne to finish his course in 1898. Moving on to Geneva he married the daughter of a prominent Russian civil servant, Lidiia Ikonnikova, and joined the anarchist circle there.⁽⁹⁾

To begin with Kropotkin had wanted an anarchist library established in Russia, considering this to be the best form of propaganda under the circumstances. Goldsmith, however, insisted on the publication of a journal, and the arguments over this question went on for two years in their correspondence. As well as thinking that a journal would take up too much of his time, to the detriment of the memoirs he was then engaged in, he also considered a library was needed for those who wanted to acquaint themselves with the views of the anarchists, while a journal was a serious propaganda tool which could only be used if there was a demand for it. In June, 1900, Kropotkin doubted whether such anarchist propaganda would yet find a receptive audience in Russia, judging from the fact that émigrés arriving from Russia seemed to be afraid of the anarchists and wanted nothing to do with them. A year later in a letter to Goldsmith he admitted that "Up until now... the Russian Social Democrats have done everything that is necessary... And we would only be able to do the same if we were there. What is the point of giving them more theoretical arguments... telling them about a higher ideal, about anarchy".⁽¹⁰⁾

The anarchist printing-press in Goldsmith's flat in Geneva began publishing literature for propagation within Russia from the end of 1900. Its organisers

included Goldsmith, who acted as translator, the French anarchist Jean Grave, and a close ally of Kropotkin, Varlaam Nikolaevich Cherkezov. The brochures were distributed in the main among émigrés, as at this time there were essentially no links with Russia.

By the summer of 1902, with the first signs of large-scale industrial unrest looming on the horizon in Russia, Kropotkin came to accept the need for more active propaganda, and he and his comrades began to plan an anarchist journal for distribution inside Russia. The result appeared in August, 1903 - Khleb i Volia, published by the Geneva anarchists under the guiding light, rather than the control, of Kropotkin, and the first Russian-language anarchist journal designed for home consumption.

What degree of control either the Geneva group or Kropotkin were to have over the emerging anarchist movement, however, quickly became apparent. A Russian Jew by the name of Koganovich was delegated with the responsibility for transporting the 2-3,000 copies of Khleb i Volia into Russia, and he arrived from London in the autumn of 1903.⁽¹¹⁾ His first port of call in Russia was Bialystok, and it was subsequently in this town that the first anarchist groups emerged in 1904.

Whether the choice of Bialystok was made arbitrarily or not, it proved to be an excellent base for the

growth of anarchist groups. The arrival of Khleb i Volia and other anarchist literature provided a rallying point for the expression of feelings of discontent that had been steadily building up in the area over the past decade. Indeed, throughout this time the signs of an imminent social upheaval were particularly sharply drawn in the western border regions of the Russian Empire. Pobedonostsev's Russification programme had spelled much political suffering for the Empire's five million Jews, suffering that in many cases merely intensified the feelings of economic and social oppression. Upon his succession to the post of Minister of the Interior in 1902, Pleve went further than ever before in his government's policy of discrimination against the Jews. 1903 was marked by a rash of pogroms in towns throughout the Pale of Settlement.⁽¹²⁾

The feelings of extreme resentment that undoubtedly were brought to the surface by this discrimination had already borne fruit, in the shape of clandestine groups of artisans, workers and intellectuals, in the 1880s. Throughout the following decade the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), the Jewish Bund, and the Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs) managed to spread their influence amongst the disaffected in the region.

By the time Koganovich arrived in Bialystok in 1903 the influence of these socialist parties was substantial. The centre of an important woollen manufacturing area, with three-quarters of its 86,000 population

Jewish, Bialystok had stood as a potential revolutionary centre for more than a decade. Koganovich appears to have had little difficulty in finding willing recruits, and in the autumn of 1903 he formed Russian anarchism's first group - Bor'ba.

Bor'ba, which at first consisted of around a dozen activists, quickly began issuing a number of proclamations and brochures of their own, as well as reprints of the "classics" of anarchist ideology, particularly works by Kropotkin and Bakunin. It also arranged a series of meetings, which attracted audiences of several hundred and which resulted in the group's membership reaching about seventy in number by the end of the year. In the period up to Mayday, 1904, anarchist agitational meetings occurred almost daily, and Bor'ba succeeded in winning a series of small strikes in the region.⁽¹³⁾

Despite the fact that the tactical message contained in Khleb i Volia was one of the peaceful propagation of anarchism amongst the local workers and peasants, little or no heed was paid to it by Bor'ba. The group won several of its strikes in 1904 by employing the tactic known as economic terror, and it also organised unemployed workers to violently seize bread from local bakeries. Though these actions were severely attacked by

the anarchists' rivals in Bialystok, principally the Jewish Bund, it was clear to all that terrorism was a tactic undeniably popular in the town.⁽¹⁴⁾

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The spirit of terrorism was, of course, not new to Russia in 1905. Narodnaia Volia had already carried out the ultimate terrorist act, in the assassination of the Tsar, Alexander II, in 1881, and although the revulsion and reaction that followed that deed seemed to disillusion many revolutionaries, the tactic was by no means dead. And despite the fact that individual terrorist attacks had had no place in the plans of either Bakunin or Tolstoy, many Russian anarchists, at the onset of 1905, looked back favourably on the assassination of the Minister of Education, N. P. Bogolepov, by the young student Karpovich, and the spate of other terrorist acts, such as the attempts on Pobedonostsev and D. S. Sipiagin, and the two attacks on the Governors of Khar'kov and Ufa that followed in the wake of the latter.

Equally, it was clear from the outset that if the anarchists of the 1905 revolution were determined to be anything, it was to be men of action, unlike their Western comrades, who had, for the most part, already seen through the romance of dynamite.⁽¹⁵⁾ As a result of this determination, the anarchist movement as a whole was quickly to acquire the reputation of

mindless terrorism amongst both critics and former sympathisers, and indeed the movement was to have great difficulty in the following years in refuting this charge, especially as few could deny that after 1906 the policy of terrorism had largely degenerated into sheer banditry, having nothing in common with any revolutionary aims. Some observers have gone further, and have argued that the tactic was damaging not just to the anarchists themselves, but to the whole revolutionary movement in Russia, in its attempts to build a mass militant spirit throughout the country.⁽¹⁶⁾

In the period leading up to 1905, terrorist activity was, of course, practised by several revolutionary parties in Russia, and was defended by as many arguments. But the two main forms which this activity took - the removal of the most influential and important members of the government, with the aim of disorganising its power, and terror undertaken on a mass scale, to encourage some form of civil war - had little in common with the special "anti-bourgeois" terrorism of the anarchists in the 1905 revolution. For the anarchists who undertook terrorism, it was not considered an extreme means under extraordinary political conditions, but a completely normal method of behaviour for a rebel living in bourgeois society. For the extremist advocates, the more a terrorist act was aimed at no one in particular, the higher was its value in propagating the anarchist idea. The thinking behind

this conclusion came to be known as "propaganda by deed".⁽¹⁷⁾

"Propaganda by deed" was by no means restricted to such terrorist acts as the throwing of bombs and shooting at village policemen. Included in the term was another, equally vague form of "direct action", which was generally called "expropriation" (or "ex" for short). The word had a specialised Russian sense for the anarchists, and should not be confused with the general expropriation of the means of production which Marx (and, indeed, Bakunin) had written about (hence, anarchist critics of the tactic disrespectfully referred to it as "partial expropriation", as distinct from general).⁽¹⁸⁾ In the Russian sense it meant stealing, either directly or by fraud, in order to finance the activities of the group, and was in fact used, although much more discreetly, by all the revolutionary parties. Although "propaganda by deed" was also meant to include the encouragement of strikes and industrial sabotage, it was terrorism and expropriation that received the widest attention in the anarchist movement, and during the first revolution, as well as those groups who were overtly committed to the tactics, several other non-terrorist factions tacitly accepted them, at least until their ultimate bankruptcy became apparent.

While the level of anarchist lawlessness probably reached its peak in the first half of 1906, the exploits, many of them of a sensational nature, continued well into 1907, leaving a long death list of both assassins and assassinated in its wake. As one biographer sympathetic to the anarchist cause pointed out in his memoirs of that time, the anarchist expropriations were meant to provide money for the printing of leaflets, and for the acquiring of arms and explosives. But, "In reality it was a perpetual circle of guns and bombs used for the sake of getting more bombs and guns and so on, ad infinitum, while the leaflets and the other aspects of the movement could wait.".(19)

From its inception in the early summer of 1903 to the onset of the disturbances in Russia at the beginning of 1905, the Bialystok Bor'ba group continued to grow. In early autumn of 1903 the first recorded organised anarchist terrorist act occurred. After an attack by the Bialystok police on the participants in a demonstration of workers, and the subsequent slaughter of many of them, the anarchists on the following day "heavily wounded an especially enthusiastic senior policeman, Lobanovsk, and several days later shot at [unsuccessfully] the police-chief, Metlenko".(20) To the local population, it seems, such methods of action appeared wholly effective, and over the next year the Bialystok anarchists evolved their most characteristic method of struggle, acts of

"economic terror". The simple assumption behind this tactic was that terrorist acts carried out against stubborn factory-owners and reactionary landlords could help the struggle of the oppressed people to win for themselves better economic conditions of life.

The first major sacrifice of this terror campaign was the owner of a large spinning works, Kagan, who had been trying to unite the local industrialists and landowners for a fight against the growing strike movement in the Bialystok region. In the summer of 1904, despite Kagan's precautions of surrounding his flat and works with police, an eighteen-year old anarchist, Nisan Farber, managed to follow him to a synagogue and knife him in the neck.⁽²¹⁾ At the end of the year, an attempt was made on the life of a police officer who had brought infamy upon himself for his brutality in dealing with arrests. In addition, the Bor'ba group continued with their policy of petty expropriations of shopkeepers, which they dubbed "seizures of produce". The produce was duly shared out amongst the local population, thus further enhancing the popularity of the movement to the point where the local Bund and SR parties were forced into copying their tactics. At the beginning of 1905, the group had grown bold enough to organise an open attack on one of Bialystok's legal printing-presses and expropriate enough type to strengthen significantly

the material base of their own (illegal, of course) Anarkhiia printing-press.

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The anarchist movement played little part in the immediate events that sparked off the 1905 revolution. ~~It was~~ accused by its political opponents - and readily pleaded guilty to the charge - of having arrived too late in Russia to have been able to forge any effective links with the rebelling workers or peasants. But the fact remains that the anarchists went on to claim an astonishing success rate, in terms of publicity and popularity, in the months that lay ahead. With the dual thrust of the worsening economic and political climate and the steady increase in the flow of anarchist literature filtering into Russia, the anarchist movement took off in 1905. It is significant that the fact that the anarchist movement had some effect on the 1905 revolution, whether positive or negative, is admitted, however grudgingly, by all but the most vehement Soviet critics of anarchism.⁽²²⁾

During the course of 1905 the anarchist movement spread outwards from Bialystok, quickly taking root in Warsaw, Kovno, Grodno, Vilna, Minsk and Riga in the west, and Odessa, Ekaterinoslav, Zhitomir, Kiev and Khar'kov in the south-west, as well as in a host

of smaller towns and villages. By the end of 1905 anarchist groups were active in the Caucasus, the Urals, and, to a lesser extent, Moscow. The propaganda, such as it was, was carried out amongst the industrial proletariat in the towns, but was later concentrated on the soldiers, student youth and the lumpenproletariat. But it was clearly insufficiently prepared, and much emphasis was put on short term methods of propaganda, especially terrorism and expropriations. The groups (there were often more than one in each town) were small, containing usually between ten and fifteen activists, who were mostly small artisans, intellectuals, peasants and the déclassé elements of society.⁽²³⁾

In the first months of the revolution Bialystok remained the centre of the Russian anarchist movement. By May, 1905 the overall group split up into five federations which independently promoted strikes and distributed literature. On top of this, special groups, known as skhodki, existed for the procurement of arms and literature. They were especially strong in the promotion of strikes, combined with economic terror, and did not stop short of running battles with the local Cossacks, who had been brought in by the frightened local authorities.⁽²⁴⁾ In April, following in the footsteps of Farber, a young ex-SR from a poor Jewish family, Aron Elin (also known under his revolutionary pseudonym of Gelinker), had

single handedly carried out a spate of terrorist acts, including throwing a bomb into the Bialystok police station and killing a local provocateur.⁽²⁵⁾

Yet, although such action had the effect of encouraging almost all the local Bund and SR parties to cross over to the growing anarchist ranks, it also served to bring down the wrath of the pogromists of the town, who needed little excuse to massacre as many as forty people at the end of July. Many anarchists, along with their Anarkhila printing-press, and members of other revolutionary parties, were subsequently arrested.⁽²⁶⁾

Bor'ba had to spend the rest of 1905 struggling against the further infiltration of provocateurs, and until 1906 its members were forced to carry out their activity in the surrounding districts of Bialystok, and as far afield as Lithuania. The man held responsible for the July pogrom, Governor-General Skalon, became the prime potential target for both the anarchists and the PPS, but the inability of the two groups to work together and the stiffening reaction prevented any realistic possibility of successfully carrying out an assassination.⁽²⁷⁾

Odessa in 1905 was witness to perhaps the most infamous terrorist attack carried out by anarchists. After a period of indiscriminate expropriations by the group, a particularly terrible Jewish pogrom took place on October 17, 1905. Exactly two months



later, in revenge for this, several bombs were thrown into Odessa's Café Libman, seriously wounding many of those inside. The bombers, Aron Elin amongst them, had come from Bialystok to do the deed, but they hardly chose a prime target, as the Café Libman was a second-class restaurant, not frequented by the rich, as the bombers supposed, but by people from all walks of life, particularly the déclassé intelligentsia.⁽²⁸⁾ But if this act attracted the greatest publicity and also ushered in the period of "motiveless terror", to be discussed below, hardly an anarchist group operating within Russia could not boast by this time at least one sizeable expropriation or attempt on the life of some member of the local authorities.

Indeed, the bombing of the Café Libman was almost matched, in terms of its senselessness, by the Internatsional group in Warsaw, which had been created by Jewish workers who had left the Bund. In 1905 they were especially active in the organisation of the strike of Warsaw bakers, bombing and setting fire to bakeries, which proved a successful tactic in frightening the owners into yielding. Boosted by their success, the Internatsional group followed this up with a series of terrorist acts, leading to bomb explosions in a bank and a hotel café, the Bristol. The results of these explosions were insignificant, and the losses were not great, but the anarchists grew in significance both in their

own eyes and in the eyes of some Warsaw workers. At its height the group consisted of about forty activists, split into ten circles. The Warsaw authorities, however, were not easily demoralised, and a furious repression got underway in 1906, when all suspects and weaponry were rounded up, culminating in the execution, without trial, of sixteen anarchists at the end of January, 1906, and the exile and penal servitude of the rest (excepting the few who managed to flee abroad).⁽²⁹⁾

During the course of 1905, an anarchist presence was also felt in Riga, where nationalist demands raised their head soon after Bloody Sunday, and where the subsequent armed demonstrations were crushed with the utmost brutality. Many young revolutionaries formed underground groups and took to executing provocateurs or robbing post offices and government offices. The Warsaw anarchists sent propaganda material to Riga, much of which was distributed amongst the Jewish proletariat in the city.⁽³⁰⁾ As with Ekaterinoslav in the south, however, the full force of the anarchist movement in Riga was not felt until 1906.

St. Petersburg, despite its importance in terms of the revolution as a whole, was not greatly affected by the anarchists in 1905. The movement's only contribution to the revolutionary centre was Beznachalie, a terrorist group, which, unlike most of the others, actually contained few Jewish elements.

By the standards of the anarchist terrorists it was an intellectual group, and took the trouble to publish its own literature in Paris, much of which was smuggled into Russia for distribution. Towards the end of 1905 the group apparently consisted of twelve activists, all young students except for one female doctor, and claimed to have forged links amongst the local workers and, in particular, the sailors.⁽³¹⁾ Their direct influence was negligible, but as well as being responsible for giving their name to several other unrelated anarchist terrorist groups in other parts of Russia, the group's importing and distribution of literature served to intensify the terrorist campaign in 1906.⁽³²⁾ For the purpose behind this literature was of a purely practical nature, including as it did lessons in the preparation, in domestic conditions, of self-igniting incendiary mixtures to be thrown at factory owners, "class enemies" in general, and police-spies in particular.⁽³³⁾ The inclusion of this last category proved to be ironic when the St. Petersburg group at the beginning of 1906 was given away to the Okhrana by the police spy Bogoliubov.⁽³⁴⁾

This brief public display by an anarchist group in the Russian capital gave rise to the Beznachalets tag being pinned on many terrorists. Indeed, most of the lone operators in the Russian provinces in 1905-6 probably swore allegiance to the destructive ideology that the St. Petersburg group had propagated.

Its very philosophy, as we shall see, encouraged its few adherents to act individually rather than involve themselves in group activities. One such colourful character was A. Bidbei, whose real name, by some strange quirk of fate, was Nikolai Romanov.⁽³⁵⁾ He was a founding member of the Paris Beznachalie group at the end of 1904, and had a hand in much of its publishing activity. The son of a very rich landowner (he was certainly not the only Russian anarchist with such a background), his upbringing had had the effect of making him fervently anti-materialistic. He had already been arrested in the 1890s while a student and Social Democrat. After a spell in the Kresty prison, he went to Bulgaria, and then to Paris, a city which had a still greater disillusioning effect on him, and, departing once and for all from Marxism, he became attracted to the circle of anarchist communists there, soon making a name for himself amongst the revolutionary community.⁽³⁶⁾

The ranks of Beznachalie were replete with equally eccentric personalities. Aleksandr Kolosov (or Sokolov), for instance, was the twenty-six year old son of a priest, a brilliant mathematician who knew five or six languages but who had been expelled from a seminary for participation in an SR circle. At different times he had studied at Kazan, Kiev, Moscow and Tomsk universities. Whilst still living with his father in the country he carried out propaganda

amongst the local peasantry and keenly distributed all forms of revolutionary literature, including Social Democratic.⁽³⁷⁾

A still smaller off-shoot of Beznachalie were the Anarkhisty-Obshchinniki. They also had their own printing-press (based in Moscow) which turned out a great quantity of proclamations for distribution amongst other anarchist groups, particularly those in the south, written mainly by "Tolstoy" Rostovtsev (real name N. V. Divnogorskii). A close ally of Bidbei's, it was he who had written the brochures on methods of peasant terrorism. As his alias suggests, he had originally embraced the passive resistance teachings of Tolstoy, but the harsh realities of life soon saw in him a conversion into the very opposite of non-resistance. One commentator who knew him has observed, "Even the active anarchists of Western Europe considered him a raving maniac who had discredited their cause at a time when they were trying hard to establish contact with the labour movement."⁽³⁸⁾ In point of fact, as 1906 wore on the Anarkhisty-Obshchinniki proved to be somewhat less extreme in their espousal of terrorism than Beznachalie, at least judging from their proclamations.⁽³⁹⁾

Mention should also be made here of a group of terrorists in the capital led by the Polish revolutionary, Machajski (a.k.a. Vol'skii). In fact, Machajski's first group of followers had already

appeared in the early 1900s when he was still in exile in Irkutsk, and they had printed a violently anti-socialist, anti-intellectual May-day leaflet by 1902.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Between 1903 and 1904 groups of so-called Makhaevtsy began to appear in the southern and north-western towns of the Empire, often preceding the appearance of specifically anarchist groups. It appears that, like the anarchists, they appealed mostly to unemployed artisans and former Social Democrats or SRs, many of whom had been put off by the socialist parties' connections with the intelligentsia.⁽⁴¹⁾ What propaganda they did carry out has left almost no historical trace, so secretly was it conducted. As a result, what did appear was sometimes taken to be the work of the Black Hundreds, so virulently anti-socialist was the content.⁽⁴²⁾

After the short-lived group in Irkutsk (which apparently fell apart in 1903 after Machajski's escape to Geneva), the next notable group of Makhaevtsy appeared in Odessa in 1904, giving themselves the name Rabochii Zagovor.⁽⁴³⁾ Just who this group were and what they did is far from clear from the evidence available. It seems that it consisted mainly of ex-Social Democrats, and that it maintained links with them at first, only later merging with the local anarchists. They were also closely tied with a group of Odessa semi-anarchists, known as the Neprimirnye.⁽⁴⁴⁾

While similar groups to the Odessa one existed between 1905 and 1906 in Ekaterinoslav, Vilna, Bialystok, and Warsaw, the strongest was undoubtedly the St. Petersburg Rabochii Zagovor, aided by the arrival from Geneva of Machajski himself in 1905. The majority of the group were fellow Siberian exiles, and they carried out most of their propaganda amongst the unemployed. Despite the hostile reception they naturally received from all socialists, for a while they did have some success at workers' meetings and demonstrations.⁽⁴⁵⁾ But it was short-lived and Machajski's optimism was soon almost completely drowned. He had to flee Russia again in late 1907, this time not returning until 1917.

Equally distressing for Machajski was the interference of anarchists in his following. The common pattern was for local anarchists to join one of the groups, start to press for introduction of anarchist ideals, and soon come to influence the group completely. Most anarchists both saw and approved of their ideological affinity to the Makhaevtsy, and consciously underlined the similarity of their views and tactics (some even going so far as to thank them for the distribution of the anarchist idea in Russia). Any merging that was done tended to be on the anarchists' terms, to the detriment of pure Makhaevist ideology. The St. Petersburg Beznachalie group, for instance, contained a few disciples of Machajski.⁽⁴⁶⁾

But although the ideological link was perceived by the anarchists, they nevertheless were critical of aspects of Machajski's theory, and some were suspicious of his insistence on "conspiracy" tactics. The anarchist journals Buntar', Burevestnik and Listki "Khleb i Volia" all pointed out the shortcomings of Machajski's critique of the intelligentsia, and Gogelija later tried to prove that the ideology was no more than a logical continuation of orthodox Marxism, since both of them professed faith "in the need for an iron hand, which would watch over the eternal children, the proletariat".⁽⁴⁷⁾ Yet the fact remained that many anarchists, while disliking the Blanquist elements in Machajski's teaching, had the man to thank for the formation of some of the first anarchist groups in Russia. As one anarchist admitted, "Many workers saw in it a fresh, lively stream: it took them away from the stifling atmosphere caused by the politics of the socialist parties".⁽⁴⁸⁾

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In the first months of 1906, no doubt inspired by the successful exploits of anarchist groups such as Bor'ba in Bialystok, a whole rash of terrorist groups spread across the south and west of Russia. This was undoubtedly the heyday of anarchist terrorism, and by the beginning of the year it was noticeable that the main centre had swung away from Bialystok in the west towards the south, and in particular Odessa and

Ekaterinoslav. Inspired by the legends of terrorists such as Farber, "battle detachments" of anarchists, most of whom called themselves either Chernoznamenttsy (after a Paris terrorist journal, Chernoie Znamia, only one number of which ever appeared) or Beznachaltsy, bombed, robbed and murdered all over the south of Russia, as well as in the older centres in the west.

Odessa, after the Café Libman explosion, continued to be a major target for anarchist terrorists. The end of 1905 and beginning of 1906 witnessed a whole series of expropriations there. In the promotion and winning of strikes, terrorism continued unabated, and the Odessa anarchists carried out a number of political murders, as well as blowing up a police station. While strong anarcho-syndicalist agitation had been carried out in Odessa from the summer of 1905, their efforts were supplemented by small groups of anarchist terrorists centred around the figure of Boris Berkov, a passionate believer in the use of political terror, who had crossed over from the SRs in the spring of 1906, then aged only eighteen.⁽⁴⁹⁾

During 1906, however, not even Odessa could rival Ekaterinoslav for acts of terrorism by anarchists. As in Bialystok, there was great potential for the emergence of an anarchist movement there. Ekaterinoslav guberniia, which included a large part of the Donbass region, constituted the foundation of the southern industrial region of the Russian Empire. On the eve

of the 1905 revolution the region had 200,000 industrial and railway workers. Many of the factories and mines were situated in rural areas and owned by foreign capital; in short, ideal conditions for anarchist propaganda to take root.

Further, the area and all of southern Russia had been swept by a strike wave in 1902-3 in which an estimated quarter of a million workers participated. The strikes were essentially of a spontaneous non-political and often chaotic nature, and the wave only briefly subsided in 1904, with the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war in February. Mass strikes returned in February-March 1905, and increased after the May Day demonstrations. A general strike in Ekaterinoslav followed at the end of June, in solidarity with the Odessa strikes and the Potemkin mutineers. This led in turn to the October general strike, with its accompanying barricades and bloodshed, and the consequent formation of soviets in many parts of the guberniia. Finally, in December 1905 a new general strike led to an armed uprising on the 8th, the result of which was to put the whole guberniia under military law. The hundreds of arrests that began from the beginning of 1906 completed the cycle that made the whole area extremely susceptible to anarchist tactics of struggle.⁽⁵⁰⁾

The town of Ekaterinoslav itself, like Bialystok and Odessa, contained a large percentage of Jewish artisans in its population, and as with the other centres, its

50,000 Jews, out of a population of 218,000, provided the recruiting ground for the groups of anarchist terrorists that were to spring up. During 1905 what anarchists there were in Ekaterinoslav had been led by a Bialystok worker, Fishel Steinberg, and they seemed content to devote themselves to quickly spreading the word of anarchism via brochures and proclamations.⁽⁵¹⁾ But from the start of the arrests in 1906 it did not take long for worker activists, once they had witnessed the bravery and nerve of the anarchists' terrorist acts and expropriations, which included the murder of a number of prominent policemen and factory managers, to cross over to the anarchist ranks in substantial numbers. The socialist parties had to contend with fierce verbal onslaughts from noisy anarchists in the mass meetings that were held in the summer of 1906. The movement appears to have claimed much of its support from the local railway workers, many of whom, because of their connections with the countryside, could only barely be classified as members of the proletariat, and who had been involved in particularly strong strike action the previous year.

Ekaterinoslav's most notable terrorist incident was the hurling of a bomb at a ministerial train (despite the fact that the minister himself was not aboard), but the largest number of attacks were made on the

lower ranks of the police and on Cossacks. In a declaration sent by the Ekaterinoslav group of anarchists to the International Anarchist Congress in Amsterdam in 1907, it was claimed that around seventy terrorist acts had been carried out in 1906, as well as armed resistance against the police, escapes from prison, and expropriations.⁽⁵²⁾ Like Farber and Elin, martyrs of the Bor'ba group, the Ekaterinoslav Chernoznamentsy could boast a terrorist of equal intensity in the bomb manufacturer, Zubar, whose speciality was the preparation of Macedonian bombs of the simplest kind. Yet another disillusioned SR, Zubar's militant nature brought him and his comrades constantly into dangerous situations.⁽⁵³⁾

From the spring of 1906 the anarchist movement re-established itself in Bialystok. Bor'ba's zenith of activity was reached in May 1906, when it boasted a dozen circles totalling three hundred people, united in a loose federation.⁽⁵⁴⁾ The groups interfered in a number of strikes and their terrorist methods of exerting pressure on stubborn factory owners were especially evident during a general strike of cotton workers in the district. The demands of the workers had been frustrated by the local factory owners organising themselves into a syndicate, and as the strike dragged on Bor'ba organised a series of expropriations, ostensibly to feed the hungry strikers. Led by mobs of unemployed, they attacked shops and warehouses, and an armed detachment took to demand-

ing money, for a strike fund, from the local bourgeoisie. The factory-owners retaliated with a lock-out, only to have their homes bombed by the desperate anarchists. This last resort, however, did not prevent the failure of the strike, and the workers quickly lost faith in the tactic's ability to win them their demands. Indeed, the loss of this strike signalled the beginning of the end of the anarchist movement in Bialystok.⁽⁵⁵⁾

If Odessa, Ekaterinoslav and Bialystok were the largest and most famous centres of anarchism in the 1905 revolution, then other smaller groups should not be ignored. In recently industrialised regions where the workforce was still primarily peasant in its outlook, and especially where a large percentage of it was non-Russian, anarchist groups were almost bound to grow up in the chaotic economic and political situation in Russia at the end of 1905, and the subsequent fierce reaction from the authorities.

Thus, in the west Warsaw and Riga continued to witness terrorist acts in 1906, while groups made strong appearances in Vilna, Grodno, Minsk and Bessarabia. In Warsaw, the lull following the break up of the Internatsional group was broken in August 1906, when new groups calling themselves Chernoe Znamia and Svoboda arose. During the winter of 1906 they took the lead in several strikes, employing sabotage and the murder of directors and foremen to press home

their demands. Bitterly opposed by the PPS and the Polish Social Democrats, the groups had their strongest influence amongst the city's tailors and cobblers.⁽⁵⁶⁾

The Riga groups (there were several) brought out a series of brochures in the Latvian language in 1906, and concentrated much of their propaganda work in the city's wagon-construction works. A number of terrorist acts were carried out, including the throwing of bombs into empty trams, during a strike of tramway workers, and into the fashionable Shvartsa restaurant, a favourite meeting place of the wealthy bourgeoisie. No one was killed, but the damage caused was substantial.⁽⁵⁷⁾

Vilna, Grodno and Minsk all saw a spate of terrorist acts carried out by small anarchist groups. Again, it was amongst the cobblers, tailors and tanners, the small artisan sections, that they propagated their ideology, and 1906 saw a succession of bomb explosions, police shoot-outs, arrests and executions in all three towns. Much of the printed material was supplied by the Minsk group, Bezvlastie, which had its own secret printing-press.⁽⁵⁸⁾

From the earliest days of the movement, the border between Austria-Hungary and Bessarabia had provided a regular route for the smuggling of arms and literature into Russia, so it is not surprising that groups should have appeared, and that much distribution of literature should subsequently take place. Both the

border town of Kamenets-Podol'skii and Kishinev provided bases for emergent anarchist groups in 1906, who soon vied with the predominant SRs for influence amongst the local peasantry. Both groups of revolutionaries resorted to agrarian terror, which mainly consisted of the burning down of barns. (59)

In the south of Russia, anarchists spread out from Odessa to Simferopol', Sevastopol' and Yalta in the Crimea. A large anarchist printing-press was set up in a cave near Yalta. When it was discovered the group operating it was sent to the Sevastopol' prison, from where twenty-one anarchists and SRs managed to engineer a grandiose escape by blasting a hole in the prison wall.

Anarchist groups also emerged in the Urals, where the centre was Ekaterinburg, and in the Caucasus, notably Tiflis, Kutaisi and Baku. Though the information is scanty, the movement in Ekaterinburg apparently acquired for itself a fearsome reputation following a pogrom in October 1905, after which an anarchist armed detachment was formed, ostensibly for the defence of meetings. In the Caucasus, the Tiflis group managed to bring out a legal newspaper in the Georgian language, although it had a short history, while Baku became a centre for extreme terrorist activities as anarchist groups vied with nationalist organisations for murder of factory directors, before turning to fight amongst themselves.

Finally we should note here also the emergence of anarchist groups in 1906 in the central textile area around Moscow, notably in the Briansk and Riazan regions, where, as we shall see in the next chapter, generally speaking the groups were of a less extreme nature in their use of violence.⁽⁶⁰⁾

Not surprisingly, a few daring characters emerged out of all this anarchist activity in 1906, and some wrote themselves into the pages of any full account of the movement in these years, such were the scale and audacity of their deeds. One of the most colourful was undoubtedly Boris "Berko" Engelson, who broke out of Bialystok prison in February 1906 where he was awaiting trial for harbouring bombs and a printing-press in his flat. After a brief stay in Geneva, he returned to Russia and was primarily responsible for setting up the Minsk group, Bezvlastie, which by the end of 1906, thanks to Engelson's efforts, possessed its own printing-press, bomb laboratory and considerable monetary wealth. After having killed a policeman in a gun battle he was finally arrested in 1907, and though great efforts were made by his wife, also a revolutionary, to free him, he was hanged in Vilna in January 1908.⁽⁶¹⁾

Aleksandr Erdelevskii, aged twenty-nine in 1905, was an old man by the standards of the Russian anarchist movement. An Oddessan Jew, he distinguished himself in the eyes of other terrorists by his refusal to face arrest. After having killed three policemen

and wounded four more, he was sentenced to death upon arrest, but was then declared mad by doctors. He had little difficulty in escaping from the prison hospital in Kherson, whence he fled to Geneva. Some-time later he returned to active work in Russia, but on 8 December 1908, he and two comrades were killed after a reported thirteen-hour shoot-out with the police in Bessarabia.⁽⁶²⁾

Erdelevskii's comrade-in-arms was Rosalie Tarlo, who joined the local Chemoznamenty to avenge the death of her seventeen year old son, who had been executed for the murder of a policeman and for putting up armed resistance on arrest. For some reason, the Okhrana appear to have had more difficulty in keeping tabs on female revolutionaries, and Tarlo repeatedly dodged attempts to arrest her on the border as she left and re-entered Russia, carrying arms and literature for the movement.⁽⁶³⁾

Tarlo's fame as a courier with a grudge to bear was easily matched by another woman, Olga Taratuta. One of the pioneers of anarchism in Russia, Taratuta helped to organise the first groups in the south. At the end of 1905 she was arrested for her part in the Café Libman bombing and was sentenced to seventeen years penal servitude. However, she escaped in December 1906 from the Odessa prison, and continued to operate illegally inside Russia until 1908, when she was rearrested in Ekaterinoslav, this time for good. Like several other prominent terrorists,

Taratuta was distinguished by being an ex-student from an intellectual background.⁽⁶⁴⁾

It is obviously not possible to list all the prominent activists in the anarchist movement in the 1905 revolution. Rather, the above mentioned terrorists should be seen only as a selection of the more famous.⁽⁶⁵⁾ What they had in common, when compared with the individualistic Beznachaltsy, was a preparedness to work together in the planning and carrying out of their exploits. In fact, there were other tactical differences between the various terrorist factions, and it is to a discussion of these that we now turn.

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Most of the groups that have been outlined held vague allegiance to an ideology of terrorism that had been developed principally by Russian émigré circles in Paris and Geneva, an ideology that came to be known as Chernoie Znamia, after the anarchist journal of the same name. They were the first anarchist groups in Russia to choose a deliberate policy of terror against the establishment and make it the corner stone of their belief.

However, few of these groups left any literature behind them, preferring instead to be remembered by their deeds in the "era of expropriations", as

anarchist writers themselves later came to call 1906. Fortunately, accounts do remain of some of the leading exponents, both those who theorised on the subject from Paris and Geneva, and those who attempted to put the theory into practice within Russia. It is clear that some anarchist terrorists were concerned that they should not be seen as mindless thugs and criminals, killing and looting for personal ends. They developed an ideology, albeit a rather negative, crude one, to justify and rationalise their comrades' actions, an ideology which we will soon see was condemned for its revolutionary bankruptcy not just by other revolutionary groups but also by the other strains of the Russian anarchist movement, who for the present remained in the minority.

The broad theory of anarchist terrorism has already been outlined, but within this framework there were several variants, important to discuss in order to gain a fuller impression of anarchist ideology as a whole. While few Russian anarchists in the West in 1905 outwardly rejected any form of terrorist activity, in fact most set some form of limit to it, a limit that often fell short of the actual acts being perpetrated by the young terrorists in Russia itself. Nevertheless, virtually all anarchist terrorists were in agreement that any act had to be backed up with either oral or, preferably, printed propaganda, and for this they were for the most part dependent on their "comrades" in the West. Thus, a strange relationship developed between the two extremes of

peaceful propaganda by word and violent propaganda by deed, and as a result, at least until the end of 1906, disagreements within the movement as a whole were more apparent than real.

Apart from the Paris Chernoie Znamia, the main anarchist terrorist journal was Buntar', the first issue of which only appeared in Paris as late as December 1906.⁽⁶⁶⁾ By this time it was clear that the Chernoznamenttsy, in the initial stages of their existence, had had their own internal ideological problems to contend with. During 1906, a distinct grouping of terrorists appeared from within the ranks of the Chernoznamenttsy, consisting of extremists known as Bezmotivniki.

Appearing before the Military District Court of Odessa after the bomb attack at the Café Libman, one of the terrorists, Moisei Mets (a.k.a. Boris) decided to use the moment to expound the ideology of the Bezmotivniki. The bomb was thrown, he explained, simply with the aim of killing the exploiters resident in the Café. Although Mets thought it important to undertake oral and printed propaganda amongst the masses, the fact remained that, "Every exploiter deserves to die, since every drop of his blood, all his life, his wealth has been violently collected from the strength, sweat and blood of a thousand slaves". Systematic repetition of such terrorist acts would be bound to bring forth revolutionary uprisings and rebellions among separate sections of the oppressed class,

"until the flame of the uprising covers the whole world of the dispossessed and, uniting in one mighty torrent, sweeps away the root of the present system". He continued on this theme, explaining that in any conflict, even for such minimalist demands as the improvement of wages by strike, the terrorists would try to instil this spirit of destruction into the struggle. With any such strikes, they would appeal to the workers to expropriate firstly the basic articles needed for existence and then, when the strike spread, to seize the tools and means of production. Finally, he warned that the separate individual terrorist acts of the time were not truly anarchist, as they were not being achieved en masse, and that, if after having taken money, the terrorist did not kill the bourgeois, "then this does not mean that he, the owner, has paid us off. No! We will find him in large quantities in various cafés, restaurants, theatres, ballets, concerts, etc. Death to the bourgeoisie!".⁽⁶⁷⁾

The Café Libman bombing was only the most famous act of the "motiveless" terror of the Bezmotivniki. Other examples in the south of Russia were the murder of three sons of a factory owner, and the throwing of a bomb into a first-class passenger train compartment, simply because "parasite-exploiters" were to be found in it.⁽⁶⁸⁾

As is apparent from this, the Bezmotivniki considered the very existence of the bourgeoisie sufficient

motive for its violent destruction. They shared this idea with the Beznachaltsy, who claimed to be followers of Kropotkin's anarchist-communism. In fact, of all the terrorist groups, the Beznachaltsy probably stood closest to the individualistic anarchist strand, and their ideological forefathers were more truly Stirner and Nietzsche. Further, of all the anarchist terrorist factions, the Beznachaltsy were especially afraid to lose the purity of anarchist principles, and they were prepared to go to Nechaevist lengths to preserve them. According to their belief, the anarchist groups, together with the lumpenproletariat (born, they asserted, with pure blood) had to organise attacks on private property and undertake the propagation of agrarian terror amongst the peasantry. "Popular violence" was more than sufficient, in their opinion, to bring about a social revolution.

In this respect, they differed somewhat from Chernoe Znamia, which, in the course of its development, came to take a more sober view of the inter-relationship between the anarchist movement and the working class as an organised force - hence its adherents' willingness to participate in strikes. This is not to deny, however, that all of the tactics of the Chernoznamenty, like those of the Beznachaltsy, were built on the optimistic proposition that the working class was in a state of constant readiness to undertake the social revolution. The difference between the two lay in

the latter's denial of any bond between social revolution and any form of organised workers' movement, particularly the trade union movement, as a result of which all its tactics were built on the force of terror, the participation of anarchists in the daily struggle of the proletariat being seen as treachery to the principles of anarchism. Unlike any other anarchist group, they genuinely believed that the anarchist had no need to take part in the production process, since his labour in the factory would only create the force and strengthen the position of the very bourgeoisie which was responsible for his helpless position. Rather, the anarchist should secure satisfaction of his material needs only by means of theft from the rich. The Beznachaltsy in St. Petersburg, having made expropriations a basic tactic, proceeded to take the idea to the absurd, recommending that the proletariat throw in their work and live exclusively by personal expropriations, thus doing away with the need for a struggle either for the shortening of the working day, or for an increase in wages.⁽⁶⁹⁾

The Beznachaltsy and the Bezmotivniki undoubtedly represented the extreme of anarchist terrorist ideology and practice. However, mention should also be made of another minority faction within Chernoe Znamia, the so-called Kommunary. The Kommunary were led by Vladimir Striga (Lapidus), a terrorist who managed to organise

a conference of anarchist terrorists in Kishinev in January 1906. It was here that Striga, a former Social Democrat and a student from a wealthy family, put forward his brand of terrorist ideology, apparently having little success in converting the majority of delegates, who continued to call themselves Bezmotivniki.⁽⁷⁰⁾

As their name suggests, the intention of the Kommunary was to set up a second Paris Commune, firstly in Bialystok, and later, after being forced to move, in Ekaterinoslav. To them, it was impossible to stem the tide of history with a few acts of individual protest of a terrorist nature. Instead, a mass uprising was needed, in the name of a stateless commune. While they were well aware both of the magnitude of the task and the difficulty of provoking such an anarchist uprising, and the total weakness and unpreparedness of their own forces, it seems that their idealism drove them forward to arrest and prison, since they believed that even a failed attempt to set up a commune in just one region would not disappear without leaving a trace of itself deeply imprinted in the spirit of the worker.⁽⁷¹⁾

Within what can be regarded as the mainstream of anarchist terrorism, perhaps the two most influential Chernoznamenty were the brothers Abram and Iuda Solomonovich Grossman (with their respective aliases of "Alexsandr" and "Roshchin"). Their major contribution was their trenchant criticism of anarcho-

syndicalism, a topic which will be dealt with later, but also they attempted to formulate some sort of anarchist ideology of terrorism.

Abram Grossman, the elder brother, was a former SR who had been converted to anarchism during a two-year spell locked in a tsarist prison. In an article for the anarchist journal Burevestnik in 1907 (a typical paradox of the Russian anarchist movement, as the journal was avowedly pro-syndicalist and anti-terrorist), Grossman wrote that "the strength of anarchism is in its complete and radical rejection of all the bases of the present system, in its combined hatred towards all the values supporting a system of greedy deception and unceasing violence... the tactics of anarchism are a constant rebellion (bunt), a ceaseless uprising... and the destruction of the basis of the present world, an unsilenced call to insubordination, mutiny." (72) For him, the essence of a revolution was mass expropriation, "an active ceaseless attack on the defenders of capital and power, a continual disorganisation of the enemy." (73)

His younger brother, Grossman-Roshchin, was more extreme in his denunciations both of the other factions of anarchism, and of the modern society that he abhorred. Having originally operated in Odessa, converting supporters away from the Social Democrats, he had been a member of Bialystok's Bor'ba group in 1905, before organising the publication of Chernoe Znamia in Paris.

Grossman-Roshchin's anarchist philosophy was essentially his own, mostly developed in Switzerland and France. His best-known idea was the tactic of seizing and holding a city for a few days, during which the rebels would expropriate the rich for the benefit of the poor, while the bourgeoisie elsewhere would be constantly harrassed by terrorist acts. In fact, he later attempted to disown his role as a founder of Chernoe Znamia, and went through several ideological changes, before becoming a "Soviet anarchist" after the 1917 revolution.⁽⁷⁴⁾

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Apart from the obvious stress laid on the value of terror as an anarchist tactic, the anarchist terrorist thinkers such as the Grossman brothers were distinguishable within the movement as a whole for the emphasis that they put in their writings on the importance of the lumpenproletariat as the strata of society most likely to respond positively to the anarchist call for social revolution.

Indeed, support amongst the urban proletariat, or lack of it, was not, it seems, the terrorists' main concern. They had at best a lukewarm attitude towards the industrial workers, who, they claimed, had no real self-awareness, were often divided amongst themselves, and whose more economically secure members were always likely to betray their class and defect to the bourgeois

camp during a revolution. They made constant reference to the "replete" worker who was in the process of selling himself to the capitalists in order to get away from the poverty-stricken ghetto of the hungry masses, the unemployed in the cities and the landless peasants in the countryside.⁽⁷⁵⁾ The terrorist journal, Buntar', ventured the opinion that the working-class was only a class when it was a "military army", attacking capital and violently struggling against bourgeois society - "otherwise, it merely sleeps". Another journal took a cynical attitude towards both the urban proletariat and the so-called middle peasantry, sections of society seemingly content with the meagre rewards of the 1905 revolution and indeed with the status quo in general.⁽⁷⁶⁾

Towards the lumpenproletariat, however, their attitude was strikingly different. Ignored by the other parties, considered the garbage of society, the parasites of the working class, idlers who always played a reactionary role in a revolution, lacking in both possessions and permanent residence (and sometimes even fatherland), the lumpenproletariat were considered by the terrorists to have been grossly overlooked during 1905. Thus it was obvious to Bez Rulia, one of the lesser-known of the terrorist journals, that the socialists' propaganda would have been wasted on the lumpenproletariat, since that class had no interest in an increase of earnings, the decrease of the working day or the changing of industrial laws. On the other hand, it could relate to anarchist

slogans (except for those of "mild anarchists and those syndicalists who direct all their strengths to petty improvements for the working-class"), and during 1905 and 1906, terrorist journals called on their supporters to work amongst "the unemployed, vagabonds, tramps, all the underground and the 'renegades of society', for they are all our brothers and comrades".⁽⁷⁷⁾

As the terrorists believed that the unemployed's idleness was exploited by the bourgeoisie to the same degree as it exploited the working man, so they were sure that the lumpenproletariat were a crucial revolutionary force, in that it could not in any way be "controlled" by the bourgeoisie. Buntar' underlined this: "The bourgeoisie knows that a revolutionary consciousness there is the death sentence of the present system... Our slogan amongst the unemployed must be: Organise and arm! Attack the shops and take the articles of primary necessity. Then let your demands for bread resound... The armed unemployed with his strength will convert the question of his hunger into one of the life and peace of the bourgeoisie! ... By this (tactic), we will be planting dynamite under the bourgeois train."⁽⁷⁸⁾

This passion for the lumpenproletariat owed more to Bakunin than Kropotkin, though the latter, while having little faith in its reliability in a revolution, did not deny the importance of activating the vagabond class, since it had to be included amongst

what the anarchists considered to be the oppressed in society. The syndicalists, however, disagreed fundamentally with the terrorists over the role of the lumpenproletariat. One pointed out that "if vagabonds willingly join in a revolution, they will even more willingly go to a Jewish pogrom, to a 'patriotic demonstration', or will sign on in a voluntary army for good money".⁽⁷⁹⁾

These reservations, however, were barely heard in the 1905 revolution, and the anarchist movement quickly acquired a reputation amongst other revolutionary parties for their appeal to the lumpenproletariat, in whose number, it was asserted, could be counted professional thieves, murderers and robbers. Thus the leading SR Maximalist, E. Lozinskii, in his harsh critique of the anarchists in 1905, claimed that they were "the ideological representatives on the lumpenproletariat, displaying their instincts and actions, their sick desire to feel free, their complete rejection or discipline, their aversion to all organisations, to organised work, extreme hatred of the peaceful democratic methods or the majority - in all, all the elements of degeneration from higher and lower society meet in the middle with anarchism."⁽⁸⁰⁾

As we noted in the previous chapter, belief in the revolutionary potential of the lumpenproletariat went hand in hand with a deep-seated hatred of the intelligentsia. Amongst those anarchist terrorists who recorded their thoughts for posterity, it is clear that

they played upon the traditional resentment towards the ochkastye, the eyeglass-wearing intellectuals, in their propaganda. Intellectual workers were classified as a rising neo-bourgeois stratum and some believed that the only way an educated man could escape from it and serve the cause of the worker was to become a manual worker himself, living a "proletarian" existence, and influencing events as a member of the working class and not as its parasitic "champion". Otherwise, the terrorists condemned "the thousands and hundreds of thousands of fraudulent working-class writers and preachers of the bourgeoisie eking out their existence in offices, where the workers' revolution can only be born in the struggle for five-kopeck coins".(81)

Anti-intellectualism was by no means the sole preserve of the anarchist terrorists in Russia (or, indeed, of the anarchist movement as a whole), but they placed themselves apart from the mainstream in their attack on the "new" déclassé intelligentsia, the so-called raznochintsy, of which they considered socialism to be the natural expression. There is no room here to pursue further the attack made by the anarchists on the intelligentsia, but it should be noted that the aggressive invective launched by the terrorists in the 1905 revolution was one that was bound to find favour amongst the lesser-educated strata of Russian society, at which the main thrust of anarchist propaganda was aimed.(82)

Now that we have looked at the various strains of anarchist terrorism and noted its special features, we must turn to examine in what sense anarchist terrorism was different from the forms of terrorism practised by other revolutionary groups in Russia in the 1905 revolution. While the concept of "motiveless" terror was not new to anarchism, it had already had its heyday in Western Europe, and had been largely abandoned as being an absurd tactic which could only bring harm to the movement and its ideas. And within Russia the activities of the anarchist terrorists found not a shred of sympathy from the socialist parties, who were later to use the excesses of 1905-1906 as one of the reasons for their condemnation of the revival of anarchism in 1917.

Yet such a stance is perhaps hard to understand, given the record of some of the other revolutionary parties in Russia, particularly the SRs. Most accounts of the 1905 revolution devote space to the terrorist activities of the SRs, and their acts are certainly better documented. As well as propagating certain forms of terrorist act, especially those directed against officialdom, they lost far more lives through terrorism during 1906-7 than any other party, including the anarchists. Their combat units, set up specifically to carry out political assassinations, became well-known for their tight organisation and determination.

So what was the difference between them and the anarchists on the question of terror? Ideologically, perhaps the significant difference lay in the fact that the SRs concentrated their campaigns against high officials of the tsarist government, seemingly an inheritance acquired from the heirs of Narodnaia Volia. Thus, the concept of "economic terror" (or indeed, "motiveless terror") was never seriously entertained within the ranks of the SR leadership.

However, it would seem that at the grassroots level, judging from the number of anarchist terrorists who were former, disillusioned SRs, the party was susceptible to redefining ideology to fit immediate needs. It is noteworthy that in towns such as Bialystok during 1905, SR groups were in fact forced to copy the terrorist tactics of the anarchists to retain their popularity.⁽⁸³⁾

Yet the anarchists themselves insisted on differentiating between the SR terrorist campaign, which was a purely political one, and the anarchist form of economic terror. In a pro-terrorism article that appeared in Kropotkin's Khleb i Volia (and which deeply upset him), the author went to great pains to point out that anarchist terrorism was unique in that it was specifically anti-bourgeois and anti-statist, and so was not directed in an exclusively political direction. It was, in effect, an answer to the government's own terror campaign, a defence mechanism of the people against the "white terror" continually waged against

them. Further, he claimed, unlike the SRs' tactics, anarchist terrorism always carried a decentralised, dispersed character, both in the town and in the countryside.⁽⁸⁴⁾

This critique of "centralised" terror, which foresaw the exposure of Azev in 1909, was summed up in one of the resolutions accepted at a conference of Russian anarchists in London in October 1906: "Centralised terror, in which the participating individual plays a role against his own free will, is contrary to our understanding. We cannot expect a comrade either to submit to party discipline or to give up his life in an act which he himself has not chosen to carry out. The main difference, in the question of terror, between us and the political parties [in this case, a reference to the SRs] lies in the fact that we certainly do not think that terror can serve as a means for changing the existing system, but see in it only the manifestation of a completely natural feeling of indignation, or of self defence, and it is in these senses that it has agitational significance".⁽⁸⁵⁾ In other words, there was no question of the anarchists finding justification for their terrorist campaign purely in terms of the political situation in Russia, the tsarist autocratic regime. Instead, their terror found its motivation in the whole modern economic system of capital and the state.

The closest that any other political party in Russia came to this view of terrorism was the shortlived

Union of Socialist Revolutionary Maximalists, (SR Maximalists). Though their influence on events was negligible, it is nevertheless true to say that almost the whole of their activity was centred around terrorism. Their most famous act was undoubtedly the bombing of Stolypin's summer house in August 1906, an act which marked the symbolic beginning of the end of anarchist terrorist activities in Russia and ushered in a full-blooded tsarist reaction. To what extent the Maximalists borrowed pure anarchist views is beyond the scope of this discussion, but it is clear that tactically they were almost identical. In practice, it must have been difficult to tell the Maximalist and anarchist groups apart in places such as Odessa and Ekaterinoslav, and we may be sure that during 1906 and 1907 ideological differences were temporarily buried in an alliance against increasing tsarist repressions.⁽⁸⁶⁾

The most direct criticism of the tactics of the anarchists in the 1905 revolution actually came from the Marxist Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. The latter party could claim some justification for this, since they had, like most European socialists, come to reject acts of terror and expropriation as adventurism that could only have a demoralising effect on the revolutionary movement as a whole. Lenin's Bolshevik party, however, could claim no such ideological purity. The financial dealings

of Leonid Krasin, along with the exploits of such terrorists as Kamo in the Caucasus in 1906, suggest that, as so often, there was a gap between theory and practice when they took to criticizing anarchist terrorism.⁽⁸⁷⁾

In theory, the Russian Marxists rejected all terrorist activity as socially useless, particularly when the acts were of an individualist nature. Plekhanov had ridiculed the anarchist armed "with a saucepanful of explosive materials", who, on throwing the bomb into a theatre or café, "declares that this is the 'revolution'. For our part it seems to us nothing but immediate madness".⁽⁸⁸⁾ After 1905, the Mensheviks weighed in with sharp attacks on the 'hooliganism' inherent in the ideology of the anarchist movement, which was made up of "the usual criminals (and)... the most heroic, mindless fools". Terror campaigns provided a liberal government with the excuse it needed to introduce strict measures not only against anarchists, but against all extreme parties in general.⁽⁸⁹⁾

The anarchist terrorists did not take kindly to what they considered to be a hypocritical denunciation of their tactics. Some took a particularly cynical view and suggested that the socialists' dislike of expropriation could be explained in terms of the latter's own fear of not being able to curb the 'anarchy' that would be let loose as a result, the

upshot of which would be an inability on their part to "secure the value of their own 'purses'".⁽⁹⁰⁾ An alternative explanation suggested that the socialists "have so little confidence in the moral strength of the workers 'under their wardship' that they consider it essential to forbid any expropriations so as to defend them from the tactic's pernicious influence". Further, and perhaps more to the point, they were firmly "in the camp of the large and petty bourgeoisie, who have willingly presented them with fat wallets in exchange for support of their opposition demands." Unlike the anarchists, the journal pointed out, the large socialist parties had no need to carry out expropriations to survive.⁽⁹¹⁾

But regardless of the Bolsheviks' readiness at times to carry out expropriations, they had the political foresight to refrain from advertising their successes. Anarchist journals began to bemoan the numbers of resolutions taken by Social Democratic and Socialist Revolutionary cells inside Russia against expropriations and the use of economic terror after 1906. As "agrarian terror" took on a desperate character in the wake of Stolypin's harsh measures, the SRs took the opportunity whenever possible to voice their public disapproval of the tactic, while the Social Democrats called for a halt to the "unnecessary excesses" of the struggle. As a result, by 1917 the Bolsheviks could legitimately decry the anarchists as the inheritors of the mindless terrorist acts of the

1905 revolution, while at the same time turning a blind eye to the expropriations of the bourgeoisie that their own party members were carrying out.

The situation was exacerbated for the anarchists by the fact that the numerous resolutions at their own conferences after 1905, condemning individual and group expropriations, carried almost no weight within the movement, owing to the very nature of the loose organisational structure of the various groups. This state of affairs simply helped to make their position all the more vulnerable in the face of criticism from other revolutionary parties - not only were the anarchists mindless terrorists, it was argued, but they were also undisciplined and unpredictable.

* * * * *

We shall see in the following chapter that some of the most trenchant attacks on the tactics of the anarchist terrorists came in fact from other, non-terrorist, Russian anarchists. From its very inception in 1903, some anarchists in the movement had either openly disapproved of or else merely tacitly condoned the terrorist groups springing up in Russia. But this voice of disapproval only became audible in 1906, when much damage to the credibility of the movement had already occurred. For it was clear by then that as well as other political parties carrying out terrorist acts which were taken by the authorities to be the work of anarchists, private individuals had

begun to see the usefulness of hiding under the name of anarchism for the perpetration of robberies and acts of personal vengeance.

The first months of 1906 also bore witness to the rise in prominence of the so-called "mandate". This consisted of a written order addressed to particular people, such as merchants, doctors or lawyers, demanding the handing over of a certain sum of money, under threat of death. Under the tag of anarchism multifarious groups of robbers and swindlers soon began to follow suit and fabricate mandates for the extortion of money. It was not unheard of for prominent people in a town to receive mandates from several groups, each claiming to represent anarchism. One anarchist later remarked: "It is not difficult to understand what moral effect this had on the anarchist.".(92)

Several of the anarchist groups operating in Russia were well aware of this state of affairs, and attempted to rectify it by bringing out proclamations which stated that only expropriations of the big bourgeoisie and the state were acceptable, that expropriations should only be undertaken for the furtherance of the revolution, that it was not a tactic which by itself would destroy capitalist society, and, lastly, that in order to avoid harmful speculation in the future, announcements should be published after each group expropriation.(93)

Nevertheless, a number of semi-anarchist, semi-criminal gangs were to grow up in Russia, especially in the south, after 1907, and the most famous, the Chernye Vorony, had already established itself by 1906. Operating all over Russia, but particularly strong in Odessa, the Chernye Vorony were essentially bands of youths who carried out robberies of the rich and public institutions, and who soon became a constant source of trouble both for the police and for provocateurs. Whole legends were spread about their leader, a young worker named Dmitry Vekh. A former enthusiastic member of a fighting detachment of the Bund, he switched to the anarchists in 1906 and became a fervent supporter of partisan terror and expropriation. However, Vekh soon began carrying out expropriations not for any organisation but for himself personally, and, having managed to escape from as strong a prison as the one in Odessa, he was hanged in Simferopol' in the summer of 1906 for attempting to arrange a mass escape from the prison.⁽⁹⁴⁾ The legend of Vekh and his guerilla bands caught the imagination of others, but the existence of these "anarchist" groups did the real movement no good at all. The fact that these criminal gangs called themselves anarchists and espoused, albeit in an extremely crude fashion, anarchist doctrine, caused great embarrassment amongst anarchist émigrés in the West.

The Russian anarchist movement had greater problems to deal with though, as the political and economic climate in Russia began to change. The heyday of

terrorism had already been reached by August 1906, when Stolypin's summer house was bombed by SR Maximalists. The state of emergency that was subsequently called enabled the government to mete out swift retribution to the diverse terrorist groups as soon as they were rounded up. Violent death, by execution or suicide (including self-immolation) became the order of the day, and the numbers of anarchists were severely reduced in a startlingly short space of time. Avrich has estimated that SR and anarchist terrorists were responsible for more than four thousand lives during 1906-1907, and it is quite possible that an equal number of deaths of terrorists occurred in the aftermath. (95)

The task of rounding up the anarchist groups was made particularly easy for the authorities thanks to an abundance of agents provocateurs, who had begun to infiltrate the movement from the onset of 1906. The role of these provocateurs in the swift downfall of the anarchists after 1906 should not be underplayed. Their presence in the revolutionary movement as a whole was a constant source of worry for all the political parties, but the ease with which provocateurs could infiltrate anarchist groups was particularly noticeable.

The whole of the St. Petersburg Beznachalie group was rounded up in 1906 with the help of a single provocateur, Dmitrii Bogoliubov. Bogoliubov had become a spy following his arrest, in Moscow, for supplying the Bialystok group with a secret printing-press. But what was significant was the ease with which the Beznachaltsy were taken in by Bogoliubov, who was known to overplay totally his role as provocateur at meetings and in conversations with the group. It seems that in the revolutionary environment of the time it was not difficult for anarchist groups to be convinced of the "sincerity" of members who knew how to sport ultra-revolutionary phrases, and this must go some way towards explaining why the anarchist movement had so many provocateurs.⁽⁹⁶⁾

From the middle of 1906, in the wake of increasing police pressure and an ever-growing network of provocateurs, the terrorist groups in Russia became noticeably more desperate in their deeds. By the end of the year many of those still prepared to remain active in Russia knew that they were faced with the choice of the gallows or the Okhrana. Large groups managed to survive into 1907 only in Warsaw, Riga, Bialystok, Kishinev, Odessa, Ekaterinoslav and Ekaterinburg. The greatest numbers of executions of anarchists undoubtedly were concentrated in Warsaw, Bialystok and Odessa, where the local authorities proved particularly thorough in their hunt for revolutionary cells.⁽⁹⁷⁾ Obituaries to those slain for the cause

of anarchism began to appear with increasing regularity in the various journals in the West, providing an indication of the cost in human life that the policy of terrorism had instigated.⁽⁹⁸⁾

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Subsequent chapters will deal in more detail with the reasons for the downsurge in the fortunes of the anarchist movement after 1906, and will examine how deeply the experience of terrorist tactics in the 1905 revolution affected the movement in the years leading up to 1917. In conclusion to this chapter, now that we have discussed fully the exploits of the anarchist groups in 1905, an attempt will be made to summarise the detail, and so construct a picture of who the anarchists were, where they made their strongest impact, and, returning to points raised at the beginning of the chapter, why their initial appearance was so successful in Russia.

Firstly, then, who were the anarchist terrorists? What knowledge can be gleaned comes from two sources - memoirs of individual anarchists or anarchist groups, and any available prison statistics. Not surprisingly, no anarchist groups kept even the most meagre records of either their personnel or their activities, so an overall picture is extremely difficult to piece together. As a result, estimating with any degree of accuracy the actual number of anarchist terrorists operating in Russia between 1905-1907 is an impossible

task. The anarchists themselves did not know what their forces were, especially as the movement split into different tendencies which were never strictly defined and so allowed for much interaction between apparently rival groups. In addition, we face the problem of attempting to subtract from any estimate the multifarious criminal elements who called themselves anarchists so as to carry out murders and robberies under the guise of a revolutionary movement.

However, a general picture can be gauged from a look at some figures for anarchists in prison in Kiev at the end of 1906 and beginning of 1907, and for those sentenced by the Odessa district military courts in 1906-1907. N. Geine, himself a prisoner in the Luk'ianovka prison in Kiev, conducted his own survey amongst the 2-3,000 political prisoners incarcerated there during the above dates.⁽⁹⁹⁾ Given the nature of Geine's sample, little significance should be attached to the results, but the survey nevertheless remains useful in providing an insight to the anarchist terrorists. A quarter of the sample of 271 prisoners he questioned refused to give answers to some questions (as the reasons given were out of fear of conspiracy and lack of faith in the seriousness of the study, we may speculate that some of this number were suspicious anarchists). Of 220 prisoners who were prepared to name a political affiliation, 22 called themselves anarchists:

Social Democrats	99	(45%)
Socialist Revolutionaries	51	(23%)
Non-Party	36	(16%)
Anarchists	21	} (10%)
Anarchist Individualist	1	
Others	12	(6%)
<hr/>		
<u>TOTAL:</u>	<u>220</u>	<u>(100%)</u>

*Non-Party, it should be noted, was a common response of lone-wolf anarchist terrorists who refused to categorise themselves.

These 22 anarchists included 3 women (the total survey of 271 included 34 women). The average age of the men was 20 years 4 months (only the Zionist socialists were younger, with an average of 19 years 8 months), and of the women, 20 years 10 months (the youngest group of women). The nationality breakdown for 248 of the prisoners was as follows:

	Total	%	Anarchists
Ukrainians	92	37%	7
Jews	91	36%	10
Russians	47	19%	3
Poles	10	4%	1
Others	8	4%	1
<hr/>			
<u>TOTAL:</u>	<u>248</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>22</u>

So almost half of the anarchists were Jews, and a third of them were Ukranian, only three were Russian.

According to Geine's social background classification, only one of the anarchists came from a privileged background (out of a total of 45 for all groups). Most fell under his category of petty-bourgeois.

As for education, none of the 22 were completely illiterate, and none had finished higher education. Instead, 15 (68%) had had just primary education. This compares with 60% of the total prisoners who had no more than primary education. But, significantly, taking all prisoners together, 35 (14%) had finished higher education. Further, Geine reckoned that 19 (85%) of the anarchists could be considered as "workers" as opposed to "intellectuals" (i.e. manual v. mental labour). This percentage of manual workers compares with 50% for Social Democrats, and 63% for the SRs. (100)

These figures can be supplemented by the following table, which looks at the number of anarchists who were sentenced by the Odessa district military courts in 1906-1907, and the nature of their sentences. (101)

Expropriation: Armed Attack ..	64
Possession of Explosive Materials and Weapons	45
Political Terror	17
Belonging to an Anarchist Group, Propaganda, etc.	12
Expropriation: Demands for Money (Mandates)	10
Throwing a Bomb into a Café - .. (Motiveless Terror)	5
Seizure of a Printing Press ..	4
Economic Terror	4
Throwing a Bomb after Demands .. for Money	2
Armed Resistance	2
Special Cases	2
<u>TOTAL:</u>	<u>167</u>

Of these 167, 99 professed to belong to Chernoe Znamia groups, 12 to the Odessa anarcho-syndicalist group (see next chapter), and the remaining 56 were "sympathisers", most of whom fell under the armed expropriation category (i.e. the semi-criminal elements to which we have made reference).

Additionally, we have information about the age of 97 of the 167 sentenced:(102)

16 - 18 years	28
19 - 20 years	28
21 - 25 years	32
25 - 30 years	6
30 - 35 years	2
65 years	1

The figures once again underline the extreme youth of many of the anarchist terrorists. A good number of these young people were from a student background, intellectuals attracted to the romanticism and heroism of the anarchist tactics of immediate and direct action. Fairly naturally, these young people had had more chance of becoming familiar with anarchist ideology, either via the rare illegal literature circulating around Russian universities or else on trips abroad. Beznachalie, for instance, was made up almost exclusively of student terrorists, and there is evidence that it received most sympathy from other discontent students.(103)

Apart from the tenderness of their age, the available evidence also suggests that a large proportion of anarchists were very recent converts from other revolutionary parties, with whose tactics they had become disillusioned. The most likely reason for this disillusionment, it has been suggested, was the thirst for "direct action", in the shape of economic terror, which the socialist parties for

the most part refused to countenance. In the Western borderlands many of anarchism's potential converts probably remained within the ranks of the PPS terrorist wing (which ostensibly carried out acts of political terror), purely because of its tighter organisational structure. The anarchist groups, from their first appearance, strove to appear more radical than the PPS, and the rivalry which grew up between the terrorist gangs sometimes spilled into infighting, especially over the question of the expropriation of private individuals, a form of economic terror strongly advocated by the anarchists but rejected as robbery by the PPS.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

Squabbles over tactics were also present in the anarchists' relations with the Jewish Bund, the most powerful socialist party in the Pale region. Its organ in Bialystok reported as early as 1904 that the anarchists were becoming "a threat" and that their prestige was growing in the eyes of the local workforce, a hint perhaps that the Bor'ba group was already beginning to encroach on the Bund's membership.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ In terms of criticism of tactics, it was the Bundists who most often clashed with the anarchists because the latter were seen as a real threat both to organisational unity and to the outcome of the revolution. The tactics of economic terror employed by the anarchists in such revolutionary centres as Bialystok in 1904 had apparently found much support among the large numbers of unemployed and workers with low levels of political

consciousness, and the local Bund organisation was by all accounts taken by surprise by the sudden appearance of anarchist groups challenging its influence amongst the workforce.

But taken as a whole, most of the anarchist movement's converts to their brand of terrorism came from the SRs. Indeed, it is probable that in a number of cases anarchists and SRs joined together both for terrorist activity and for the distribution of each other's literature, thus aiding the propagation of anarchist views in rural areas of Russia.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ But it is also true that in areas where the anarchists were especially strong, whole SR organisations temporarily collapsed in the wake of the desertion into anarchist terrorist groups.

It seems fairly conclusive, then, that the "typical" anarchist, insofar as such a type can be said to have existed, was extremely young, even when compared with revolutionaries of other parties, was often a recent convert from a socialist party, and was either a poorly educated manual worker of non-Russian nationality (probably either a Jew or a Ukrainian), or from a déclassé, intellectual background.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

Attempting to gauge how many anarchists there were in 1905 is a much more difficult task. As we have already noted, no party records were kept by anarchists, and what little written evidence they left is bound to be inaccurate. The movement as a whole was

certainly weaker numerically than either the Mensheviks, the Bolsheviks or the SRs, but this also does not tell us much. A more sensible approach is to see the anarchist movement in Russia consisting of a very small number of activists, more or less conversant with the various and varied ideological aspects of anarchism, numbering no more than several hundred, and a much larger number of followers, whose active support was limited to specific events and times, and who knew little or nothing of what anarchism really claimed to stand for.

Our only statistical guides are the estimates of anarchists in prison after 1905. These are obviously not accurate reflections of the real number of anarchists in Russia, but they do bear witness to the legacy of terrorist activity the movement left behind, particularly in the south. Otherwise, we have to fall back on anarchist journals and newspapers of the time, where we have to make large allowances both for natural bias and for the fact that police records of the time indicate clearly that there were many groups operating in Russia who had no written propaganda outlet at all, and so left no epitaph either in the shape of a newspaper or a series of proclamations. Further, already by 1906 the movement was being swamped by purely criminal elements, which, in the pursuance of their crimes, hid behind the tag of anarchism. But, it is conceivable that Grossman-Roshchin's claim that the Bialystok groups, at the height of their successes

in 1906 when they were united in a loose federation, numbered around three *hundred*., is not wildly off the mark.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ One might expect the equivalent figure in Ekaterinoslav to be higher, given the strength of the movement there, while in the other areas (with the possible exception of Moscow in the spring of 1906) the numbers were not so large. Adding to this the difficulties of estimating the strength of the grass roots support of the groups, we have to conclude by admitting that any attempt to gauge the numerical strength of the anarchist movement is an exercise of pure speculation.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾

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More can be said about where the influence of the anarchist movement was strongest. The first groups of anarchists appeared not in the capital but in those towns and industrial regions which were economically backward and newly industrialised, with support coming largely from sections of society that had long-standing grievances against tsarist policies aimed directly at their oppression - grievances which they were unable to express in a sophisticated political fashion.

Moreover, anarchist groups only began to have an influence in these areas from the end of 1905, when other revolutionary groups began to call for a political solution to the crisis that the events of the year had resulted in. The resultant increase in suscepti-

bility to ultra-revolutionary phraseology amongst poorly educated sections of the workforce was not denied by anyone, including Marxists, writing at the time about the anarchist movement.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

But it is not even enough to limit oneself to the general conditions of the given time: the chronic economic crisis and unemployment which resulted from the war with Japan, and the onset of the counter-revolution. After all, this cannot explain why anarchism had already begun to spread in certain areas before 1905, and the ease with which Social Democrats and especially SRs became anarchists. To explain these phenomena one has to look further, to the low level of political consciousness and organisational norms amongst workers in towns such as Bialystok, where economic terror as a tactic central to the workers' struggle had been practiced from the 1890s. This in turn helps to explain the swift disillusionment amongst these sections which followed the capitalists' refusal to yield to such threats, often answering them with lockouts.

The nature of industrial development in areas such as Bialystok and Ekaterinoslav was such that the factories became manned by the sons of small artisans who had been forced to find work in the towns through the effects of the squeeze of capitalism. Some of these first-generation workers were duly converted to socialist doctrine during the 1890s, but appeared to come to terms badly with the strict party discipline

imposed upon them. In terms of political consciousness, all their intellectual baggage had been acquired purely accidentally, via snippets from party newspapers and group proclamations, further leading to a positive suspicion of the influence of intellectual theoreticians, apparently concerned with their books and political programmes. It was just such workers who might be likely to believe that more could be achieved with a bomb and a revolver than with any organisation, needing only the acquaintance with a few basic tenets of anarchist ideology to make the conversion from socialism to anarchism. In this respect, socialists writing after 1905, admitting that many of their comrades had switched allegiance to the anarchists during the revolutionary events, warned of the dangers in prospect if more intensive propaganda work and organisational activity were not pursued.⁽¹¹¹⁾

These elements, former socialists working in the factories, may be seen as those who slipped into anarchism "from above", as it were. Much of their support, their followers, can be seen as coming "from below", from those urban elements who, having already sunk into the depths of poverty and hunger, had lost any hope of ever getting out of it - the ever-growing lumpenproletariat, the permanently unemployed, the paupers and vagabonds. We may be confident that many of these people knew nothing at all of the ideology of anarchism, beyond the belief that it stood as a

a protective cover for their petty thieving and criminal activities. And we have already seen that, amongst the anarchist terrorist writers at least, there was a positive glorification of just these sections of society. To this we may add the significant fact that after the break-up of the first Duma in the summer of 1906, when the revolutionary wave in the country fell away, many anarchist groups quickly degenerated into simple banditry. There is thus no doubt that large numbers of these sections of society, not represented either by the trade unions or by the political parties, made up the bulk of the anarchist support in Russia.

So when looking at the areas where the anarchist movement's influence was strongest, we must bear in mind the importance of differences in industrial development within the Empire. Textile workers in the central regions around Moscow, and miners in the Ural mountains and the south still remained more closely connected with the countryside than, say, metalworkers in the giant factories of St. Petersburg. The fact that these former returned to their villages every year added to the amorphous state of affairs that had led to the low level of political consciousness of much of Russia's industrial proletariat. And it was just in these areas, where the largest part of the artisan proletariat was concentrated, and where unemployment and depression was strongest of all, that the main breeding grounds of anarchism were

situated - that is, the Polish/Pale region and the south, the central region around Moscow, and the Urals.

Of these areas, anarchist influence was strongest in the south. In Ekaterinoslav and Odessa, and in the villages surrounding these towns, the anarchists in 1906 and the beginning of 1907 undoubtedly vied with the local Social Democrat and SR organisations for support of the industrial proletariat and the poor peasantry. This helps to explain the support that Makhno was due to receive after 1917 in the Kiev, Ekaterinoslav, Poltava and Kherson regions. The influence of anarchist activity in these areas in the spring and summer of 1906 led to the movement spreading into the Crimea and the Caucasus, but with less success than in the Ukraine.

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In conclusion, the appearance of an anarchist movement in Russia was if anything a consequence of the events in the country, and in no way a causal factor of the 1905 revolution. While anarchist ideology was always likely to receive a wide distribution in economically backward areas of the country with an over abundance of small production, it benefited from the general revolutionary uprising in the country, which created an extraordinarily favourable atmosphere for it.⁽¹¹²⁾ As a result, anarchism, fired by the introduction of Kropotkin's ideas into Russia for

the first time, enjoyed reaping the fruits of the anger and frustration of large sections of Russia's disaffected.

As for the terrorists themselves, what lay behind their fervent belief in a tactic that other revolutionaries at best would only tacitly accept in times of a revolution? Woodcock has described the anarchist terrorists as "mostly lonely men driven by a curious blend of austere idealism and apocalyptic passion",⁽¹¹³⁾ and much in this chapter would seem to bear this out, both in terms of the ideology expressed and in the general makeup of the movement. To these ultra-radicals, Lenin's Bolshevism was no more than a branch of democratic socialism, far from genuinely revolutionary. Their strongly-developed feeling of duty and readiness to self-sacrifice, their excessive maximalism, and their inability to undertake any sort of organised long-term work towards the realisation of their ideals, led them ultimately to a rejection of life. As Grossman wrote shortly before his own death, "the true anarchist cannot live for long because, thanks to the existing order of things, life is every hour, every minute encroaching on his freedom, on his individuality, and under such conditions to live long is to debase oneself, to cease to be an anarchist."⁽¹¹⁴⁾ It was a combination of growing disillusionment with the tactics employed by the other, better organised revolutionary parties, and the desperate economic and social position of certain

strata of the population in the northern and southwestern regions of the Empire, that helped to produce the young anarchist terrorists.

The apparent success of the anarchists' terrorist acts helped to boost significant support for the movement during 1905 and 1906, but the rewards were short-term and superficial, so that when the tide began to turn against revolutionary extremism in 1907, the movement, finding itself with no real bed-rock of support to rally around it, was forced abroad or underground. In any case, their attempts to force the bourgeoisie to compromise by means of physical threats were only successful with small capitalists and landowners. Almost without exception, those who could afford to answered the demands of the anarchists with lock-outs.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ As strikes were lost, the influence of the anarchists in the area fell. This was to lead to the degeneration of the movement in 1907 into very small independent groups who carried out raids on trams and took off with conductor's money-bags, robbed small shops, sent mandates to well-off people, and who even, in the Caucasus, resorted to kidnapping, all of which was to thoroughly discredit both the anarchist movement and its teaching.

This state of affairs obviously meant little or nothing to the remaining terrorists, who refused to have anything to do with the "peaceful" anarchism

of their West European comrades, by 1905 already immersed in convoluted arguments surrounding the doctrine of French revolutionary syndicalism. To the Russian terrorist, all this talk was so much hairsplitting and theorising. At least he could argue that he had actually put his theories of economic terror, sabotage and expropriations, together with an unceasing war against the police, immediately into practice in the Russia of 1905-1907.

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CHAPTER III

PROPAGANDA BY WORD -

THE RUSSIAN ANARCHISTS ABROAD IN THE 1905

REVOLUTION

PROPAGANDA BY WORD - THE RUSSIAN ANARCHISTS ABROAD
IN THE 1905 REVOLUTION:

This chapter looks at the role played by non-terrorist groups in the 1905 revolution, most of which existed outside of Russia. Some space is given over to a discussion of the internal disagreements and disputes which arose in the wake of 1905 as a result of the tactics employed by the terrorists on Russian soil. It is argued that while these disagreements were not the only cause, nevertheless they were a major factor in the rapid disintegration of the anarchist movement after 1906, and in turn laid the foundations for further disputes in 1917. Finally, as a post-script to 1905, there is a brief survey of how the anarchists themselves interpreted the events in Russia, and how the presence of their groups was viewed by their political rivals.

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Although the anarchist terrorist groups in Russia constituted the majority of the anarchist movement as a whole, and despite the fact that their exploits received both the greatest publicity and the widest sympathy in the areas where they operated, we should nevertheless not ignore the other varieties of anarchism that had followings, albeit small ones. While it is important not to overplay the distinctions and differences between the various anarchist factions,

since, especially in the early years, at times they were barely distinguishable, however, by 1905 at least two other anarchist doctrines were being propagated to some degree, and it is to these that we turn to first.

As we described in the previous chapter it was Kropotkin and his supporters who were responsible for the first smuggling of illegal anarchist literature into Russia in 1903. It was not long before he and his group were dubbed Khlebivoltsy, after the title of their journal, Khleb i Volia. As the news of unrest in Russia continued to filter through to Kropotkin in London, his optimism began to grow to the point where he began to think in terms of attempting to start an anarchist party in Russia. Significantly, its task was to be no more than the peaceful distribution of anarchist propaganda, with a view to establishing a daily newspaper.

The imminence of the revolutionary crisis was evident to Kropotkin, and in May 1904 his young comrade, Gogeliia, was sent to Russia to undertake preparatory underground work. In December, Kropotkin wrote in a letter to Goldsmith, "Affairs in Russia are taking on a serious turn, and whether here or in Russia, we have to work".⁽¹⁾

That same month a small conference of Russian anarchists was called in London, principally to sound out

the views of Kropotkin on the worsening situation in Russia. As is usual with anarchist conferences, those who attended did so as individuals, not delegated by any group, but most were Khlebivoltsy. Gogeliia returned from Russia to attend, and the conference was also attended by Errico Malatesta, an Italian anarchist, well-known amongst revolutionary émigré circles. Five resolutions were passed on tactics to be followed in the ensuing struggle. Anarchist resolutions rarely have a binding force, and these were no exception, being no more than the opinion of a few of the better-known anarchist figures. The resolutions called for a complete, immediate upheaval of social and economic relations in Russia, with no division between a struggle for political freedoms and the introduction of a communist economy; a total general strike; the use of terror both on a mass and individual level, to achieve these ends; the voluntary formation of groups and unions of groups to carry through the revolution; and the formation of a separate anarchist party in Russia, with no union with any other political parties, even with socialists.⁽²⁾

It is known that Kropotkin himself (and, probably, his closest supporters) disagreed with at least two of these resolutions. One of these was of little importance - Kropotkin saw no point in clashing with the liberals in Russia, and so cautiously welcomed the demonstrations for constitutional reforms in the

homeland as a step in the right direction. But he also disagreed fundamentally over the use of terror to achieve the anarchists' ends. In doing so, Kropotkin placed himself outside the mainstream of anarchist thought in 1905, and was soon to find that he had little or no control over the growth, direction or activities of the anarchist groups that had begun to emerge in 1903 and 1904, let alone over the tactics of the movement after revolution had swept across Russia.

As the events of 1905 unfolded in Russia, Kropotkin began to show marked signs of frustration with the anarchists, and as early as June he was complaining that his own Khleb i Volia group, based in Geneva, was lagging behind badly in propaganda work.⁽³⁾ His impatience showed itself in the same month when he tried to make plans to go to Russia, plans that were thwarted by illness and by his family's strong disapproval. What little control Kropotkin had been able to exert over his comrades was lost by the middle of 1905, especially as Khleb i Volia no longer held the monopoly of illegal distribution of anarchist literature in Russia, (it had been joined by the Paris Beznachalie).

By the autumn, disillusionment over the anarchist movement's role in the Russian revolution had set in. In September Kropotkin travelled to Paris illegally to attend an informal set of discussions held in the private flat of a Professor of Philosophy. About fifteen people attended the discussions, including

Kropotkin and Goldsmith. Several had returned from the hot-bed of revolutionary events to report on the progress made so far. Kropotkin was not pleased when he was told of the mounting anarchist terrorist acts and expropriations, and clashed over the tactic with some of those present. If he had not previously been aware of it, he knew now that there were elements in the Russian anarchist movement who had no time for his abstract programmes, and who did not shy from directly telling him so.⁽⁴⁾

As for the Khleb i Volia group itself, open disapproval of the terrorist excesses in Russia did not properly manifest itself until 1906, for reasons that will be discussed later in this chapter. Instead, we look here to see what its adherents managed to achieve themselves. We have already seen that their principal tactic was to be "propaganda by word", the peaceful distribution of literature intended to incite revolution. Kropotkin's other aim, to form an anarchist party, totally failed. Within the confines of Russia in 1905, and given the difficulties that anarchists generally experienced in uniting for practical purposes, the notion was one of Kropotkin's more naive. Instead, the pattern that was followed was one of a propagandist arriving in a revolutionary centre, armed with illegal literature, and then setting up small circles which held meetings and discussions, and attempted to join in workers' debates and, on rare occasions, strikes.

The main centre was undoubtedly Moscow, although Gogel'ia did have some limited success in his native Caucasus, and there was support for groups that operated in the Urals, (usually alongside terrorist gangs) and Vilna.⁽⁵⁾

The first Moscow propaganda centre was founded early in 1905 by Vladimir Ivanovich Zabrezhnev, a faithful disciple of Kropotkin who was to show exceptional bravery in his escape from the Butyrki prison to join his mentor in emigration in 1906. His group, which mainly circulated amongst the Moscow students, proved to be extremely short-lived, managing to print and distribute only two proclamations before the whole group was arrested.⁽⁶⁾ This was quickly followed up by another group, calling itself Svoboda, which was more fortunate and managed to avoid arrest. From the end of 1905 it undertook wide propaganda work in Moscow's Butyrskii region, printing many agitational brochures on its own printing-press and distributing them in their thousands in Moscow and its surrounding regions. It also set up distribution links with groups in Tula, Nizhnii-Novgorod, Penza and Kazan. Significantly, these were areas where the anarchists were to have success in 1917 and 1918, and one may speculate that the seeds of that success were sown by Svoboda's activity in the "Days of Freedom" after the October general strike, the Manifesto of October 17, and the December armed insurrection.⁽⁷⁾

However, in 1906 Moscow also saw the emergence of other anarchist groups who, after a period of peaceful distribution of propaganda, resorted to the tactics of terrorism when funds ran low and when arrests began to speed up. Svobodnaia Kommuna was formed in May 1906 via a successful expropriation of nine thousand roubles. Its links with Svoboda were not strong - not only did its members operate in a different region of Moscow, but, more importantly, they were not Muscovites, but Ukrainians who had arrived in Moscow after the December insurrection to propagate the tactics of Chernoie Znamia. Further, their attempts to infiltrate the movement of Moscow unemployed had little success, and so they quickly resorted to armed expropriations instead.⁽⁸⁾

Police operations against the anarchists in Moscow began in earnest in August 1906, and continued through the autumn. By this time some anarchists' activity differed little from their southern comrades, and a government provocateur saw to the successful arrest of most of Svobodnaia Kommuna and its terrorist wing, an armed detachment which called itself Solidarnost'.⁽⁹⁾ However, the Khlebevolytsy, first under the auspices of Svoboda and then as a student group known as the Federal Group of Anarchist Communists, continued to undertake oral and literary propaganda, work which was to continue, albeit in a more fragmented fashion, into 1907. Outlets for this activity were found in some of the trade unions and in small workers' meetings.

Moscow then, became the centre of Kropotkinist anarchist-communism. Indeed, during the 1905 revolution it was the only city in Russia where anarchists made a serious attempt to match the propaganda activities of the other revolutionary parties. However, to put the matter into perspective, we should stress that anarchist groups in Moscow emerged very late, only at the beginning of the revolutionary events, and then only as a consequence of those events. Most of Svoboda's literature found its way to students, and to workers and peasants in the neighbouring districts of Moscow. Crucially, they failed in their attempt to set up long lasting connections with anarchist groups in the south and west of Russia, the only real links being that of distribution of literature to the main centres, Bialystok and Ekaterinoslav. Added to this, the Moscow anarchists were swamped by the vastly more efficient organisation of the other revolutionary parties.⁽¹⁰⁾

The only other area where the Khlebivoltzy did make some significant headway was in the Caucasus. The Kutaisi group, headed by Gogeliia, set up its own printing-press, Kommuna, by expropriations of the local bourgeoisie, and published several books and pamphlets. Gogeliia, who had been a tireless propagandist amongst the Swiss in Geneva in 1903, threw his energies into forming anarchist circles in Georgia. In 1906 he moved to Tiflis, and on March 25

the first Georgian language anarchist newspaper, Nobati, appeared, a publication which was funded out of Gogeliia's own savings. It declared itself a daily, and, as the tsarist censor apparently overlooked its presence, it came out legally. However, in the latter half of 1906, with the onset of the reaction, the groups deteriorated into unprincipled expropriations, with Gogeliia departing for the West in disgust.⁽¹¹⁾

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The other major strand of anarchist thought to emerge in Russia during the course of the 1905 revolution was anarcho-syndicalism. Just as it was the most recently developed in Western Europe, so it was the last of the varieties of anarchism to stake a claim amongst revolutionaries in Russia. An analysis of the development of pure syndicalist thought, in particular French syndicalism, lies outside the scope of this work, but we may state here that the differences between syndicalism and anarchism were in part ones of degree and emphasis, rather than of substance. If the former put far more emphasis on the notion of the economic class struggle, then they shared the denial of the need for a political struggle of the working class in any of its forms, considering political action to be not only superfluous but even harmful for the proletariat.⁽¹²⁾

The speedy development of French revolutionary syndicalism, with the exception of a few well-read intellectuals, went unnoticed in Russia up to and including the onset of the 1905 revolution. Whether the nascent workers' movement in Russia was "syndicalist-minded" or not is open to argument,⁽¹³⁾ but there is no evidence of anarcho-syndicalist propaganda until after the January events in 1905, simply because anarcho-syndicalism needed for its propagation a broad-based trade union movement such as did not exist in Russia at that time. Once such a movement had been initiated in Russia then the way was open both for the birth of Russian anarcho-syndicalism and the consequent realignment of their theories by many of the Kropotkinist anarchist communists. Towards the end of the first Russian revolutionary period, the anarcho-syndicalist tendency came to occupy a more dominant position in the movement, a position it retained and attempted to strengthen in the years of the reaction, despite consistent attacks from the anarchist terrorists and some of the Khlebovoltsy.

These attacks came about because of important differences in the sphere of tactics. In particular, the anarcho-syndicalists held their own views over the question of the role of the trade unions in a revolution, the emphasis placed on the need for a general strike to generate such a revolution, and the ultimate uselessness of terrorism as a tactic to promote revolutionary consciousness.

Trade unions were seen as extremely important institutions by the anarcho-syndicalists. As well as being non-statist in conception, trade unions were also the vehicle through which strikes could be organised and won, though not in some "economist", reformist manner, since each strike was to be taken to the limit by the trade unions in a direct struggle against bourgeois capitalism. Further, they saw in a confederation of labour unions the basis for a future stateless society, considering trade unions to be the genuine proletarian organisation, since they united people by class background and not by any merging of political views. Such an organisation would see to the liquidation of the system of hired labour, and create a social system without private capitalist management and exploitation.

While the emphasis on "direct action" by trade unions appealed to many anarchists, it was dampened by the syndicalists' insistence that the trade union movement had to exist along tight organisational lines if it was to have any chance of success against the capitalists and their state. To more than a few anarchists this smelled of centralism and of bureaucracy, elements which they considered to be both unnecessary and potentially dangerous.

The anarcho-syndicalists also paid great homage to the idea of a general strike. Rather than regarding it as a special tactic to be pursued separately from the daily class struggle of the proletariat, they

saw it as the natural culmination of a whole series of localised economic strikes, combined with industrial sabotage and boycotts. Sabotage was to reveal itself in the slowing down of work rates and lower quality of work, as well as "obstructionism" - the exact observation of the rules governing the work place, taken to the absurd so as to cause a lowering in the product of labour. Boycotts, meanwhile, were to be practised in relation to firms who were especially hostile to workers. As this action led to a general economic strike, the degree of violence attached to the workers' activities would rest solely on the degree of resistance they met. Thus, everything would ultimately depend on the specific circumstances - a general strike could be no more than the workers' simple refusal to work, or no less than the violent expropriation of the capitalists.

On the question of terror, the anarcho-syndicalists found themselves in a small minority, along with Kropotkin, in 1905. Inside Russia, groups only managed to establish themselves in Odessa and St. Petersburg, and then the emphasis was placed on forming non-party trade unions and encouraging the local workers to strike for economic demands. These were tasks that required some organisational base if they were to be pursued successfully over a period of time, but the anarcho-syndicalists showed themselves to have little more organisational ability than their terrorist comrades.

The Odessa anarcho-syndicalist group was led by D. Novomirskii, a former Marxist who arrived from Paris in November 1905. Believing that the terrorists had already done much harm to the anarchist cause (the local populace finding it hard to differentiate between them and the Black Hundreds), he began appearing at anarchist meetings, putting forward his own anarcho-syndicalist views against those of the anarchist communists. Success in helping to organise local quarry workers into a union led to Novomirskii forming The South Russian Union of Anarcho-Syndicalists, a group initially distinct from the terrorist Chernoznamenttsy.⁽¹⁴⁾

This distinction was short-lived. After winning a printers' strike in May 1906 by terrorist methods,⁽¹⁵⁾ Novomirskii's group absorbed groups of Chernoznamenttsy and SR Maximalists, and created an armed detachment of some thirty-five men.⁽¹⁶⁾ Whatever Novomirskii's views were on terror, from this point onwards he acquired a taste for large-scale expropriations, carried out with local SRs, so as to fund the groups.⁽¹⁷⁾

The final large-scale appearance of Novomirskii's groups occurred when they participated in the strike of the sailors of the Black Sea Fleet. That the anarcho-syndicalists enjoyed the sympathy of some of the sailors was apparent from the fact that their representative was introduced onto the strike committee, in spite of the protests of the Social Democrats. But the strike was defeated and Novomirskii was forced to flee to Geneva, where he tried fruitlessly to interest

anarchists in his grandiose plans for a broad-based south Russian federation of anarcho-syndicalist groups.⁽¹⁸⁾

By the time he returned to Odessa in the summer of 1907, Novomirskii had effectively lost control of his groups, who were slipping further towards terrorism and band-
itry.⁽¹⁹⁾ Thoroughly disillusioned with his comrades' behaviour, with the course the revolution as a whole had taken, and with Kropotkin's brand of anarchism in the West, Novomirskii quickly abandoned anarcho-syndicalism for good, undergoing a radical conversion to individualism. He desperately tried to escape abroad, but was arrested at the end of 1907 and sentenced to penal servitude.⁽²⁰⁾

Although there is little written evidence, it seems likely that St. Petersburg in 1905 also began to see the emergence of syndicalist propaganda amongst sections of the capital's proletariat. A group of syndicalists decided to send their representatives to the Soviet of Workers' Deputies, but on November 23, 1905 the Ispolkom refused them entry, arguing that the anarchists did not represent a party and, by their non-acceptance of the political struggle in Russia, had not had representation at any international socialist congress or conference. This was a decision, incidentally, which Lenin applauded, since he believed the introduction of anarchists could only weaken the revolution and introduce disorganisation.⁽²¹⁾ However, the fact that this incident brought a comment from Lenin suggests that the anarcho-syndicalists were not completely without influence. Indeed, recent Soviet histories have admitted that the Bolsheviks

"had to carry out a particularly difficult, complex battle against the anarcho-syndicalists", who saw beyond terrorist acts to a mass movement based around the trade unions. This in turn provoked Lenin to call for "a most resolute principled struggle against the anarcho-syndicalist movement in the proletariat".⁽²²⁾

It is also now admitted that anarcho-syndicalists entered the revolutionary committees in other areas such as Kazakhstan, while the anarchists themselves claimed that in 1906 inroads were made into some of the Moscow trade unions (mainly in the metal industry).⁽²³⁾

The clearest evidence of anarcho-syndicalist influence comes, however, from the appearance of its literature in St. Petersburg and Moscow from the beginning of 1906. This publishing activity seems to have had no connection either with organised groups in the capitals or with Novomirskii's group in the south, the only other area of Russia where anarcho-syndicalists managed to bring out their own literature. Along with the publications of Kropotkin and his followers, works appeared legally in book shops for general consumption. Much of the literature, such as A. Nedrov's Rabochii Vopros, was closer to pure French syndicalism, and indeed the majority of works that appeared were translations of books by European syndicalists such as Sorel, Pouget, Labriola, Lagardelle and Pelloutier. Original works were comparatively few, and those that did appear had difficulty in applying their ideas to the economic and political situation in Russia.⁽²⁴⁾

Nevertheless the Russian anarcho-syndicalists in Europe, the largest group of which was the Geneva Burevestnik publishing group, could justifiably feel by 1906 that their ideas had at least received a public airing in Russia for the first time, even if no syndicalist movement as such had made a stamp on Russia. And the fact that their views were allowed to circulate freely in the capitals of Russia until 1907 is important to remember in connection with the reappearance of anarcho-syndicalism in Petrograd in 1917. (25)

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Thus it is clear that although the boundaries were often very loosely defined, and although anarchists such as Novomirskii behaved very differently from the ideology they espoused, yet it is possible to see, as the anarchists themselves did, three factions within the movement in the 1905 revolution. The vast majority were the terrorists who, while paying homage to Kropotkin's anarchist communism, differed from the Khlebiivoltsy on the questions of terror and organisation. And both these factions had serious disagreements with the anarcho-syndicalists, almost all of whom were émigrés.

Before turning to discuss more fully the nature and significance of these disagreements, brief mention should be made of other anarchist philosophies which made brief and minor appearances in Russia in 1905.

It is not intended to dwell on the ideological differences between the mainstream and the periphery, especially as they were of a purely theoretical nature, having no real effect on the actions of the movement as a whole.

Briefly, then, from the 1880s Russia had witnessed the appearance of communities of Christian, or Tolstoyan anarchists, notably in Moscow, Tula, Samara and Orel provinces. By the turn of the century these had spread as far south as the Caucasus, and in areas such as the Urals other religious sects with strong anarchist undertones grew up. (26)

This "peaceful" anarchism, which rejected revolution, terror and all other violent tactics, concentrating on the internal improvement of life, was never clearly defined, but its supporters considered Tolstoy to be its main spokesman and representative. But conventional anarchists, while having great respect for Tolstoy's stand against power in any form, rejected both his teaching of passive resistance to the violence of governments, and the strong religious overtones throughout Tolstoy's philosophy, anathema to all Kropotkin's supporters. (27)

Yet despite this, the two strands of anarchist thought did meet in 1905, especially in the sphere of publishing activity. A Tolstoyan publishing-house in St. Petersburg, Obnovlenie, produced several works of an anarchist, non-Tolstoyan nature, notably the first book by the Kropotkinist Vetrov (I. Knizhnik), who

was himself a former Tolstoyan.⁽²⁸⁾ As for their influence, Tolstoyan groups necessarily stayed outside the political events in Russia, but they are known to have had support primarily in southern Russia, the Caucasus, Poland and Lithuania. There were also Tolstoyan communities outside of Russia. The size of the colony in Geneva, before the SRs made an appearance as an organised party, had been second only to the Russian Social Democrats.⁽²⁹⁾

Russian émigré centres also housed a small number of individualist anarchists, who, beyond their desire to abolish the state as an institution of compulsion, had little in common with the followers of either Kropotkin or Tolstoy. The individualists took their creed from the writings of Stirner, Benjamin Tucker and Nietzsche, all of whom had been severely criticised by Kropotkin as being completely conservative, as they were committed only to winning personal liberty without a revolutionary change in the economic system. Indeed, by the turn of the century Kropotkin believed that the individualists had been responsible for much confusion within the movement over the notion of personal liberty.⁽³⁰⁾

The individualists stressed especially the need for the total liberation of the human personality from the fetters of organised society (including even Kropotkin's communes) and called for the complete rejection of all bourgeois values, most notably the family institution. These ideas put them close to the

spirit of the earlier nihilist philosophy, but, as with the Tolstoyans, they played no significant role in Russia, confining themselves to artistic and intellectual radicals in St. Petersburg, Moscow and Kiev.

The main individualist publishing-house in 1906 and 1907 was the Moscow Individ group, its most notable publication being Oskar Vikont's Anarkhicheskii individualizm; a collection of articles, mostly translations, entitled Sbornik "Individualist"; and translated works by such Western philosophers as Mackay, Most, Tucker and Stirner. It is unlikely that these works reached a wide audience, as they were for the most part highly priced, but this did not stop contemporary observers, particularly those on the right of the political spectrum, from seeing Russia ^{as} infested with the pernicious influence of Western individualist anarchism. (31)

In fact, individualist anarchism as a whole was more of an embarrassment than anything else to both anarchist communists of the Kropotkin school, and anarcho-syndicalists. Consequently, the anarchists that gathered for the International Congress in Amsterdam in 1907 fully agreed with the view expressed by Malatesta that the bourgeois individualism of

Nietzsche or Duhring was "an aristocratic individualism" that anarchism did not recognise. (32)

If most anarchists were in agreement regarding the ideological shortcomings of both the Tolstoyans and the individualists, they found themselves incapable of agreeing on fundamental tactical issues. From 1906, when all three factions, the terrorists, the Khlebevolytsy, and the anarcho-syndicalists, had their own journals, distinct viewpoints began to be aired concerning the role of the anarchist movement in Russia.

By the end of the year much of their analysis took the form of self-criticism regarding the shortcomings of the movement, and with the benefit of hindsight many anarchists, while continuing to heap abuse on the socialists, came to admit that their own failure to have any influence on events in 1905 stemmed essentially from chronic organisational inability. Secondly, most also came to accept that whatever organisational form was agreed upon (and here there was much disagreement), much more effective propaganda work had to be undertaken in Russia if the movement was to have any lasting effect. Finally, there was widespread condemnation of the surfeit of terrorist activity which, it was argued, had damaged badly the anarchist image in Russia. Not surprisingly, this condemnation was one that the terrorists themselves rejected out of hand.

On the question of organising the anarchist movement a major problem confronted Kropotkin, reflected in the fact that throughout his writings he made no attempt to outline detailed principles of organisation. Despite

his calls in 1905 for a unified structure to the movement, his aversion to authority structures and hierarchies in general was such that he was unable to think in terms of any strictly defined anarchist "party". In any case, Kropotkin would have never been prepared to set himself at the head of such a party, especially not during a revolution, when he considered it particularly important to abolish power structures of any kind. The most that a revolutionary party could achieve, Kropotkin laid down as early as 1873, was "to unite the dissatisfied elements, to promote the acquaintance of separate units or groups with the aspirations and actions of other similar groups, to assist the people in defining more clearly their actual enemies,... and finally, to contribute to the elucidation both of the nearest practical goals and the means of their realisation.".(33) While Kropotkin was in fact prepared to make concessions to these views after the anarchists' failure to organise themselves in the 1905 revolution, the kernel of his ideas on this subject remained intact. Because of his fundamental beliefs he was unprepared and unwilling to wield any authority over the Russian anarchist movement.

Thus, by renouncing political methods and goals, the anarchists logically could not form a disciplined political party for the purposes of conquering power. And, it is indeed for this reason, if for no other, that the Russian anarchists have to be examined in the light of a political tendency rather than a

political party. No serious attempt was ever made to form a unified anarchist organisation, and had any such attempt been made, it would no doubt have failed because of the very nature of the anarchist ideology, with its dislike of organisational discipline.⁽³⁴⁾ As George Woodcock has written, "the very nature of the libertarian attitude - its rejection of dogma, its deliberate avoidance of rigidly schematic theory and, above all, its stress on extreme freedom of choice and on the primacy of the individual judgement - creates immediately the possibility of a variety of viewpoints inconceivable in a closely dogmatic system."⁽³⁵⁾ Any analysis of the organisation of the Russian anarchist movement should bear this in mind.

Nevertheless, it remains true that the organisational chaos in the ranks of the Russian anarchist movement was due as much to their own helplessness and inactivity as to the ideology of anarchism itself. All but the individualists accepted that some form of organisation, however loosely defined, was desirable, even if it was no more than small "propaganda circles" for the acquisition and distribution of literature. It was also agreed that regular meetings of anarchists should take place to discuss aims, and methods of achieving them. So long as the sovereignty of each unit was recognised fully, so long as no binding resolutions were taken, and so long as the discussions were based on informal agreement and not some rigorous

constitutional procedure, then there was no danger of centralism or authoritarianism, and the meetings could be described as the "voluntary, conscious federation of people.".(36)

So, although anarchists resolutely rejected "stair-case organisations", always culminating in central committees to which all members had to submit, they fully approved of federative ones built by voluntary agreement, into which equal groups entered to act together towards a certain aim. In practice, however, such idealised forms of organisation failed to materialise in 1905. The terrorist groups dotted over Russia made little effort to forge links, and while the larger terrorist groups were prepared to accept the need for a common organ to collate information about the movement and act as a propaganda vehicle, they remained vigorously against any organisational ties that might restrict their independence. Instead, many chose to see an anarchist federation in terms of some sort of illegal seditious force, "barbarians against bourgeois society, who will act as armed revolutionary bombers to conquer the old world.". There was little further elucidation, except for the confident prediction that Russia's present mood left no doubt that their federation would grow quickly into a huge social force.(37)

The consequent failure of the terrorist groups to organise themselves was, according to the anarcho-syndicalists, one of the major reasons for the wide-

spread arrests that followed in the wake of the latter half of 1906. Novomirskii was an early critic who advised anarchists that they had to learn from the mistake of having fruitlessly devoted all their forces to "loud, noisy but often useless exploits", and concern themselves with the central task of organising the working class, outside of which their activity was worthless.⁽³⁸⁾

Novomirskii felt lack of organisation to be one of the main reasons why anarchism in Russia now suffered from bad "public opinion". Anarchists needed more than just an organisation, some sort of debating society or club - they needed to become "such a political force that we will smash to pieces the whole modern political organisation of violence - the state". Novomirskii went so far as to call for the formation of single Anarchist Workers' Party, both within Russia and on an international scale, which he believed to be possible as a result of the new conditions pertaining to Russia in 1906.⁽³⁹⁾

The Burevestnik group, while not going so far as Novomirskii on the question of organisation, nevertheless called regularly for anarchists to take part in factory meetings, in elections for non-party organisations, and even to stand as delegates to these organisations. One of its main writers, Maksim Dubinskii, wrote in its journal in August 1906: "We have made many blunders, many mistakes. But to confess to these mistakes is not shameful; to confess to these mistakes signifies a willingness to understand and

correct them. And we must correct them. We must undertake broad theoretical propaganda and not organise ourselves solely for terrorist activity... And what is most important, we must organise our strength, we must unite all our groups into one mighty whole... to create, in a word, a Russian anarchist party.".(40)

The leading article in the following number of Burevestnik began to examine ways of creating a Russian anarchist organisation, which it considered was "indispensable" and "essential", being "absolutely unnecessary to demonstrate further the whole importance and urgency of this task". The article actually offered little of positive value, since the only thing it appeared to be sure about was the type of organisation it did not want to see - that is, one that upheld the principles of centralism and hierarchy, one with central and local committees, and one which decided all party questions by means of a vote (to which the minority were obliged to submit): "in a word, a small political organism in which... every member of the party either commands - or obeys".(41) Nevertheless, it is significant that the article did press for some form of organisation, even if only temporary, before it was too late, and the "great historical moment, which will not be repeated so quickly", was allowed to slip away.

This critique of the organisational methods of the movement was not aimed solely at the terrorist groups inside Russia. The tactical methods propagated by

Kropotkin and his Khlebivolttsy also came in for a more veiled criticism from the anarcho-syndicalists after 1905. Indeed, the criticism had some success, in that some of the Khlebivolttsy came to see the advantage of anarcho-syndicalist notions of organisation over the old theories that had been laid down by Kropotkin thirty years ago. As for Kropotkin himself, he remained suspicious both of trade unions and soviets as true workers' organisations, especially as the former tended to exclude the peasantry. His one concession to the syndicalists was the tactic of the general strike, which he appeared to totally accept following the strike in October 1905.⁽⁴²⁾ But the fact remains that he was wary of anarcho-syndicalism, and it is significant that in 1917, when he returned to Russia, he ignored the soviets (to whose war policy he was in any case opposed) as possible organisations of the future.⁽⁴³⁾ Further, trade unions, Kropotkin felt, were always susceptible to pressure from parliamentary socialists, and he only ever accepted anarchists joining strictly non-party unions which avoided political methods of struggle⁽⁴⁴⁾

For these views Kropotkin came in for attack. The severest critic amongst the anarcho-syndicalists in the first revolution was Novomirskii, who, while having great respect for his past reputation as a revolutionary, rejected Kropotkin's faith in the spirit of spontaneity within the masses. In the introduction to his work on anarcho-syndicalism, Novomirskii condemned the ruling tendency in anarchist literature,

the teaching of Kropotkin, which "seems to me too full of purely Narodnik phrases, with their extreme subjectivism, sentimentality and intellectual humanitarianism. We Russian anarchists, up against the Marxist school, cannot be satisfied with these empty emotive phrases, which our old teacher often uses in place of arguments... We disagree especially sharply with comrade Kropotkin and his supporters in Russia, the so-called Khlebivolttsy, on a whole number of tactical and organisational questions." (45)

Other anarcho-syndicalist critics out of deference preferred to avoid mentioning Kropotkin by name, and instead referred to the shortcomings of anarchist-communism or Khlebivol'chestvo in the abstract. In their opinion, the ideology was little more than a system of social morals, containing neither analysis nor concrete programme. Although both agreed on the importance of the general strike, the anarcho-syndicalists stressed that importance significantly more than the Khlebivolttsy. And, in the final analysis they differed fundamentally over the question of the trade unions, the organisational principles of which the anarchist communists could not accept as being compatible with anarchist ideology. The anarchist communists still clung to the concept of free communes as the basis for action, transformation and construction, despite brief flirtations with the idea of promoting non-party trade unions after the October general strike in 1905.

In June 1907, Zabrezhnev for the Khlebivolttsy once again repeated what he considered were the essential and irreconcilable differences between anarchism and syndicalism. The latter, in his eyes, concentrated too much on the class demands of the proletariat to the exclusion of the other oppressed classes, was tainted with the brush of Marxism (via the influence of Lagardelle), was non-parliamentary rather than anti-parliamentary, and had a minimum programme.⁽⁴⁶⁾ And a report from Russia in the penultimate issue of Listki "Khleb i Volia" (which actually took a less pure Kropotkinist stand than its predecessor Khleb i Volia) noted that the comrades were against trade union organisations, fearing that the masses, by directing their activity into a legal framework, could have their revolutionary spirit killed. The trade unions in Russia, the report continued, only appeared revolutionary in 1907 because of the nature of the government they were fighting against. In reality, they were either dominated by socialist elements, or were "Gaponist" in their orientation, and so the Khlebivolttsy in Russia preferred to stay away from direct activity within them.⁽⁴⁷⁾

The anarcho-syndicalists disagreed with this analysis, and from 1906 they became more convinced than ever that the trade unions were organisations essential to the development of anarchism. If these unions could be set up and directed along federalist lines, then the major problems of waging a revolution in Russia

could be solved. Critics of anarchism, they believed, had thought along narrow lines, seeing the anarchist alternative to the state as "a chaotic struggle between individuals and groups of individuals. Consciously or unconsciously they omit a third possibility which is neither a state... nor a random gathering of individuals, but a society based on the free and natural union of all sorts of associations and federations: consumers and producers".⁽⁴⁸⁾

Thus, they argued that to prevent them coming under the control of socialist parties, anarchists had not only to enter the existing trade unions, but also create their own federated organisation. From its inception in 1905, Novomirskii's group of south Russian anarcho-syndicalists attempted to propagate the idea of an organisation of secret syndicates which would enter into the open non-party trade unions for propaganda purposes, while retaining their own independence. Their programme called for the establishment of "unions of workers which have as their aim not only the complete liberation of the working class, like any revolutionary anarchist organisation has, but also the struggle with the bosses for improvements of the conditions of labour, similar to other trade unions".⁽⁴⁹⁾

These views were echoed in Burevestnik. Its editorial proclaimed in 1907 that all its members were agreed "that at the present moment in Russia the anarchists must organise the workers into illegal unions, along

professional lines".⁽⁵⁰⁾ By this time, optimistic over the way 1905 had developed, the Burevestniki came to consider trade unions based on non-party professional lines to be the starting point of all anarchist activity.

In addition, the Burevestniki also looked with some favour on another essentially non-party organisation that had sprung up in Russia - the workers' soviets. These organisations were seen by anarcho-syndicalists as inevitable, given the absence of a real trade union movement in Russia, and they came out in favour of participation in them, albeit somewhat reservedly. Thus, in the article by Raevskii referred to above he wrote: "The short-lived but famous history of the soviets of workers' deputies showed that the Russian proletariat in the present stage of its development irrepressibly tried to unite for the struggle in a non-party class organisation."⁽⁵¹⁾ This organisation had been short-lived, Raevskii added, simply because it had fallen under the influence of Social Democrats and SRs, a fact which no anarchist could allow himself to forget in 1907. Raevskii believed that the Russian worker saw the institution of the soviet in a special light, so that the anarchist should realise that "any new word spoken here receives a much wider distribution, has much more influence attached to it, than speeches heard in the usual workers' meeting". This was a conclusion which, though clearly correct, few anarchists in 1907 were prepared to come to terms with.⁽⁵²⁾

Raevskii's point about the need to take part in soviets to get the message of anarchism across to the Russian people leads us to the second major point of disagreement within the anarchist movement - the need for greater, more organised propaganda work in Russia. As we have seen, the émigré Khlebivoltsy were the most keen proponents of the idea of converting the Russian oppressed classes to anarchist ideas by means of the peaceful propagation of literature backed up by speeches at workers' and peasants' meetings.

By the end of 1905 a relative flood of illegal anarchist pamphlets, proclamations, newspapers and books had found its way across the Western borders of the Russian Empire. This was backed up in 1906 by the appearance of "legal" anarchist literature in Moscow and St. Petersburg. From the spring a whole series of books and brochures, original and translated, putting forward anarchist views or else simply discussing anarchism, were published, "without preliminary permission" from the censor. For the first time anarchist literature began to appear in Moscow book markets, alongside polemical brochures on anarchism written by Social Democrats and SRs. This state of affairs continued in both Moscow and St. Petersburg (with the emergence of anarcho-syndicalism) until 1908, and although the literature was regularly confiscated by the authorities, it clearly aided in the dissemination of anarchist ideology in Russia. After the 1905 revolution the Russian reader could have on his shelf the works of

Mackay, Most, Malatesta, Grave, Kropotkin, Bakunin, Nieuwenhuis, Proudhon, Reclus, Tucker, Faure and many other anarchist thinkers, works that had previously been either banned or unavailable.⁽⁵³⁾

This "legal" anarchist activity was totally unacceptable to most of the anarchist terrorists. Smelling reformism from their comrades in the West, they would have nothing to do with such publications. This is not to say, however, that the distribution of printed propaganda was totally alien to their tactical conceptions. The Bialystok anarchists, at least in the opening stages of their activity, managed to carry out effective propaganda in the locality, both in neighbouring towns such as Grodno, and in the neighbouring peasant districts. From 1904, because the literature from abroad was arriving irregularly and in small quantities, the group printed several brochures on a hectograph, and then managed to set up their own illegal printing-press, Anarkhiia. By 1905 proclamations were being published almost every two or three days, and the quantity of literature from abroad increased correspondingly, both of which were distributed openly in front of, and sometimes to, the soldiers sent to anarchist mass meetings.⁽⁵⁴⁾

Other groups were no less energetic. Secret printing-presses existed for varying lengths of time in St. Petersburg (Gruppa Anarkhistov-Obshchennikov), Warsaw

and Riga (Internatsional), Odessa and Ekaterinoslav (Chernoe Znamia), and Yalta (Gidva), and other groups could usually make use of these facilities for the printing of proclamations. Speeches given at trials, particularly the famous one given by the French anarchist, Emil Henry, were universally popular as proclamations amongst anarchist terrorist groups.⁽⁵⁵⁾

As confidence grew, terrorist groups turned to the violent seizure of private printing-presses for the printing of their proclamations. The Minsk Bezvlastie group issued proclamations giving advice on such topics as elections to the Duma and how to answer lockouts, while in strong SR areas, such as Riazan, anarchists distributed propaganda amongst the peasantry with such titles as "Pull Out the Plough From the Furrow", literature which expressed the most simplistic views. A favourite method of leaflet distribution to the peasants was from the windows of passing trains.⁽⁵⁶⁾

But despite this, it remains true to say that the only terrorist group in Russia with a consistent policy of publishing propaganda material was the St. Petersburg Beznachalie. As well as the four numbers of their journal, in 1905 the Beznachaltsy abroad also smuggled several brochures into Russia written by, amongst others, Bidbei and Rostovtsev. The group's "Declaration" noted the need for anarchists to inform the masses as to who their friends really were, and invited the views of any comrades onto the pages of

their journal. This attitude was in fact hardly surprising, as both Bidbei and Rostovtsev considered themselves great agitators.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Otherwise, the terrorist groups inside Russia relied more heavily on oral propaganda, or else concerned themselves exclusively with carrying out "propaganda by deed".

By 1906, many anarchists, notably the anarcho-syndicalists, were voicing their dissatisfaction over what they considered to be the poor quality of propaganda work that had been carried out in Russia. Burevestnik, for instance, as well as calling fruitlessly for some semblance of organisational unity in the anarchist movement, in its opening issue complained that anarchist literature of any kind had been virtually non-existent in Russia at the time when it had been most needed (that is, 1903-1905), and that when it had arrived on the scene, it was too late in the day to have any significant effect on events. To rectify this state of affairs, instead of throwing bombs into anonymous crowds, the anarchist movement had to set out on paper its ideals.⁽⁵⁸⁾

The greatest criticism from within the movement of the poor propaganda work of the anarchists came from Novomirskii, who became a staunch critic of the "religious" sloganeering of the anarchists during 1905. The ideas of anarchy, he asserted, could only serve as "a guiding star in the complex labyrinth of reality. In practice, we must be led by more concrete facts... the demolition of some definite institution,

and not some abstract idea of freedom". Instead of standing on the sidelines until the people were ready to accept the heady concept of the anarchist commune, the propagandist had to fight for the smallest rights, the weakest freedom. Although the "rebellious spirit" of the people was clearly an important factor to be taken into consideration, it had no independent significance. "Anyone will agree that where the social environment has not been prepared by preliminary propaganda and agitation, if the class is bereft of the awareness and consciousness of its interests, any rebellious spirit is totally useless.".(59) The ideals of anarchism had to somehow be connected with the daily struggle of the workers via a clear, tight programme and tactics. "A party which does not know how to do this must inevitably perish", (60) Novomirskii warned, noting that this had been the fate of the Narodniks in the 1870s, when the peasant had been considered to be an instinctive communist.

* * * * *

In the final analysis, however, the biggest stumbling block to the unity of the movement was the use of the tactic of terrorism by the groups operating in Russia. Despite certain exceptions (notably the assassination of Alexander II), Kropotkin had always been a staunch opponent of the kind of terrorist tactics on a mass scale that the Russian groups put into operation after the outbreak of the 1905 revolution. His reasoning

was that terrorism, conceived and followed as a definite policy, drove any movement that practised it into Blanquist conspiratorial action and so divorced it from the people. But given his views on the necessity for the anarchists to remain unfettered by centralised leadership, he felt unable to do more than voice his opinion over the matter.

This inability to take a strong stance on the question of the use of terror did little to aid the unity and ideological cohesion of the anarchist movement. Indeed, matters were not helped when in December 1903, in the fifth number of Khleb i Volia, an avowedly pro-terrorist article appeared, apparently unbeknown to Kropotkin.⁽⁶¹⁾ Kropotkin reacted strongly, calling the article in a letter to Cherkezov, "scandalous", adding that "it was impossible to write anything worse to alienate the Russian youth from the growing anarchist movement."⁽⁶²⁾ He also wrote to the editorship of Khleb i Volia, at that time headed by Gogeliia, noting that the article "displeased me extremely, in places simply disgusted me... I will be deeply sorry if you decide to print something similar".⁽⁶³⁾ Nothing similar was printed in Khleb i Volia, but it seems likely that many of anarchist groups in Russia, upon reading the article in an avowedly Kropotkinist journal, would have been left in some doubt as to Kropotkin's views on the use of terror.

There was also some room for misunderstanding Kropotkin's attitude towards expropriations. His theoretical works dwelt on the need for a revolution to reorganise society so that the necessities and luxuries of life were shifted from the few to the many, but he gave little hint as to how this was to be achieved outside of allusions to the mass seizure by "direct action" of the means of production and the reallocation of the products of society to all on an equal basis.

Vague though this might be, this was what Kropotkin conceived of as "expropriation". However, as outlined above the term had a different connotation in the Russian sense, meaning the obtaining of money by theft for continuing the revolutionary struggle. This activity Kropotkin defined as "partial" or "personal expropriation", and he was categorically against it. His objections rested on the inevitable demoralisation which such a method of acquiring means introduced into the revolutionary movement, the futile waste of young lives in the pursuit of funds, and, most important, the violation of the principle of work which could only set a bad example to the general public, and give the movement a negative image.⁽⁶⁴⁾

In fact, up until the middle of 1905 the attitudes expressed by most émigrés towards terrorism were to some extent ambivalent. Khleb i Volia, probably with Kropotkin's approval, had come out in favour of "defensive terror" against the police and Black

Hundreds, and of "armed resistance" in general, as principles enshrined in anarchist doctrine.⁽⁶⁵⁾ And after its December 1904 conference, perhaps not wishing to swim too much against the growing tide of terrorist activity at that time inside Russia, Khleb i Volia accepted personal acts of terrorism so long as they were "unplanned". Each terrorist act could only be judged for its validity by the local activists, as only they could appreciate the conditions pertaining in any one district.⁽⁶⁶⁾

Indeed, an open attack by the anarchist communists in emigration on the methods of the majority of the groups in Russia began only in August 1906, when Kropotkin organised a new journal, Listki "Khleb i Volia", which came out fortnightly on Tuesdays from the end of October. The launching of the new journal was preceded by the largest and most important of the Russian anarchist conferences organised by the Khlebivolttsy in London. The resolutions taken and the eight papers given at the October conference were duly printed in the first numbers of Listki "Khleb i Volia", and all the documents of the conference were published separately in 1907.⁽⁶⁷⁾

The conference was notable both for its disillusionment over the tactics employed by anarchists in Russia over the past eighteen months, and for the optimism that the fledgling anarcho-syndicalists held for the

future of the Russian revolutionary movement. It was also a conference that clearly showed a belated willingness to attempt to unite the forces of the Russian anarchists in emigration, and to set out tactical guidelines to those anarchist groups still operating in Russia.

As regards terrorism, the conference sympathised with some comrades' lust for revenge against the treatment being meted out to revolutionaries in general by the tsarist authorities, but saw little sense in reprisals. As it pointed out, normally acts of individual terror could be seen to raise "the spirit of independence in the masses", standing as examples of personal heroism in the service of a social end. "But in revolutionary times they become a common occurrence. In such times it is not even necessary to be a principled revolutionary to sympathise with this kind of act. But if the act is not followed up with some sort of explanation, then in the eyes of the masses it becomes a senseless murder.".(68)

Listki "Khleb i Volia" was intended to be a newspaper for the anarchists in Russia, and not the usual anarchist theoretical journal. Kropotkin was assisted in its publication by Goldsmith, Zabrezhnev, Vetrov, and a young anarcho-syndicalist, Aleksander Schapiro.(69) But the newspaper lacked the contacts needed to transport it in large numbers into Russia, in the way that

Khleb i Volia had been smuggled in, and most of the copies were circulated around the émigré community in Europe and America.

Regardless of this, in the editorial to its first number, Kropotkin called for a halt to the senseless human sacrifices being made in the name of a Russian revolution that would not work itself out overnight. Putting forward a view that he reiterated in subsequent articles, he stated that comrades in Russia had to take a more responsible attitude towards their actions and come out of their isolation and report regularly to London if the reactionary forces were not to reap an even greater harvest of arrests and executions. (70)

Other leading Khlebevolytsy in the West also attempted to stem the tide of terrorist acts by writing articles which purported to define the terms of the tactics which anarchists should employ. For instance, Zabrezhnev presented a paper on terror at the October 1906 conference, which was then published in two numbers of Listki "Khleb i Volia". Zabrezhnev accepted that terror existed in the very essence of capitalism, since, "the number of sacrifices from chronic hunger and industrial 'accidents', and other horrors of the capitalist system, outweigh many times the quantity of sacrifices in the most bloody of wars, in the most revolutionary struggle". But although terror could be seen as a form of struggle, as a tactic it was in no way connected with the anarchist world view: "on the

contrary", he wrote, "there is no other world view which values more the life of man. It is only the composition of the existing society, based on violence, which forces anarchists to struggle against it violently". A campaign of motiveless terror would get nowhere if it was not backed up with sufficient propaganda. Zabrezhnev, while continuing to argue in favour of acts of self-defence, as they could have "great agitational significance", pointed out that other, aggressive terrorist acts merely provided ammunition for opponents, wasted valuable lives, and correspondingly alienated the population from anarchism. Anarchists themselves could no doubt understand the psychology of a desperate man committing a personal act of revenge against his bourgeois oppressors, but, "in the eyes of the masses, they see a senseless murder of an innocent person." (71)

Far more damning criticism of the terrorists' activities came from the anarcho-syndicalists, whose own tactics were in turn scorned by several of the terrorist writers. This hostility between the two factions of anarchism quickly showed itself to be of a permanent nature, and was to prove to be a large thorn in the side of the anarchist movement both in the years between the two revolutions, and during 1917 itself.

Although Burevestnik carried at least one avowedly pro-terrorist editor in Grossman, the mood of the journal was definitely against the tactic. In its

first issue the anarcho-syndicalist, E. Efimov, set out the arguments against the further use of terrorism as a tactic in the struggle. Continued use of motiveless terror had left the population exhausted, apathetic towards the revolution and, worst of all, hostile towards the anarchists. Simply to aim to draw the attention of the world to its presence, as the Bezmotivniki had set out to do, was inadequate, and it in no way followed that they were, therefore, preparing the ground for the growth of their ideas. In an indirect reference to the two famous restaurant bombings, Efimov pointed out that no coffee-house was exclusively the den of the bourgeoisie.⁽⁷²⁾ A bomb thrown into such an establishment would only produce the very opposite of the desired results, since the average working man was unable to understand the agitational significance of such acts. Finally, he pointed out that motiveless terror gave the enemies of anarchism the opportunity to declare that the anarchists were not only against the bourgeoisie, but were in fact nihilists against "everybody and everything".⁽⁷³⁾

This theme was further expounded by Novomirskii, who was later to write of the terrorist groups: "their imaginary communism was purely bourgeois individualism, and their terrorism the insatiable vindictiveness of people bearing a grudge... on every page of Chernoe Znamia, Buntar' and Anarkhist we meet this wild phrase, "holy hatred". In fact, there is nothing holy in hatred,

on which it is impossible to build anything".⁽⁷⁴⁾ Novomirskii linked the spate of expropriations with the lumpenproletariat (an element of society for which he had a dislike, uncharacteristic of the anarchist movement as a whole). "Society as an organisation of production does not exist for them: in their eyes, it is only a storehouse of products. The vagabond sees capitalism not in the factories, but in the shops". Expropriations of money had even less revolutionary significance than expropriations advanced by individualists (where property would be retained, but the state destroyed) or social democrats (where the state was retained, but private property destroyed). Robbery did not destroy property, but merely increased the number of property owners. "Robbery, in a word, is as much expropriation as a pogrom is a revolution", he declared.⁽⁷⁵⁾

Like many other anti-terrorists, Novomirskii also denounced the "petty" tactic of motiveless terror as being directed "against the sleeping policemen, against handfuls of the most inoffensive and faint-hearted bourgeoisie in a restaurant, and against the shop-keeper, refusing to hand over his crumbs to the self-appointed representatives of "anarchism"." The movement, he concluded, had to rid itself of all the professional thieves and hooligans, "who are muddying our great cause with their exploits", and who "try to take any real, healthy idea to absurdities. They convert the destruction of private property into the most

cowardly petty robberies, while in their "revolutionary" minds the destruction of the state consists of the murder of a corporal".(76)

For the most part, however, the terrorists remained unrepentant. Grossman-Roshchin's second journal, Buntar' was the leading anarchist-terrorist periodical in the West after the failure of the movement in the motherland in 1906. The first issue came out in December 1906 in Paris, with later issues, in 1908 and 1909, published in Geneva. Buntar' was not prepared to admit the shortcomings of the tactics employed by the terrorist groups in Russia. Revolutionary traditions of the working class, it proclaimed, had to be developed, "and this is possible only when economic terror is used, and when it becomes the common law of the revolutionary masses". Successes in the revolution had already been achieved by mass economic terror, so that any "half-heartedness and irresoluteness" on the part of the anarchist movement would be a crime. The eternal threat of death had to hang over the bourgeoisie, while at the same time "removing from circulation the most obvious and talented servants of the state". Merely to preach for a violent revolutionary struggle was not enough. "We must not only propagate but also organise violence... We must be the initiators and organisers of each act of revolutionary struggle".(77)

The first issue of Buntar' also carried an article on the question of so-called "partial" expropriations.

The writer was aware that as often as not the expropriators were merely posing as anarchists in order to rob shops and banks, but he nevertheless declared himself in favour of such expropriations, so long as they were for "party" ends; "such aquisition of money is only a technical means of acquiring money for the organisation: by themselves these expropriations have nothing in common with any of our methods of struggle against capital". It was felt essential to point this out, "so as not to give our enemies the opportunity of misinterpreting our tactics", a reference to both the Social Democrats and the non-terrorist factions of the anarchist movement.

Buntar' did concede, however, that expropriation of money with violence from private individuals and public institutions could only be condoned if the money was genuinely intended for the furtherance of the struggle. Otherwise, there would be huge scope for "charlatanism", for the extortion of money for "orgy and debauchery". Further considerations were the huge quantity of sacrifices which the movement had already made in the name of expropriations, with the likelihood of still greater sacrifices as the bourgeoisie began to regain strength and hit back, and the danger of the workers seeing expropriations as instances of "motiveless" terror, of retaliation because of an unsatisfied demand of money from a capitalist. Instead, the workers had to be taught

that it was the capitalist who was the criminal, not because he had not satisfied one or another partial demand, but because he was in general a capitalist, "a representative of his filthy society".

However, the article ended with the justification of the continuance of such expropriations, for the simple reason that this was the only way the movement could survive financially. "We would all be glad to refrain from this method of acquiring money; but this is impossible. The movement demands money... the bourgeoisie will not give us money, and we will not ask for it from them." To decrease the harm caused by expropriations, it was necessary to categorically reject petty expropriations and concentrate instead on large ones (such as banks) which could not be imitated by common bandits. More importantly, the group should issue a proclamation after each expropriation explaining it, while denying any other acts not carried out by the group in question.⁽⁷⁸⁾

Finally, it should be remembered that the terrorists were persistent not only in their espousal of the tactics practised by groups in Russia but also in their critique of syndicalism. Beznachalie, for instance, condemned any form of organised trade union movement, since it was for skilled, regularly employed workers only, and thus completely ignored the interests of the lumpenproletariat and unemployed. Even amongst those workers who were able to join unions, one of its leading articles noted, membership

would only entice them to acquire material improvements and encourage opportunism, a factor which the cunning bourgeoisie were hoping to instill into the workers, so as to direct them from their revolutionary path and lead them onto the path of compromises and bargains. (79)

This attitude towards the trade unions stemmed in part from the faith the terrorists put in the revolutionary spirit of the lumpenproletariat. "It is no wonder", Beznachalie proclaimed, "that more and more often strikers and the unemployed come to blows with one another, and that in the process of the development of the trade union struggle more and more of a division is appearing between workers and their less fortunate brothers, for the interests of the workers and the unemployed remain forever contradictory. Ivan can only get a job at a factory if Petr loses his". The journal went on to make comparisons between the "replete" worker and the "hungry" unemployed within the context of the trade union movement, differences which were bound to kill off proletarian solidarity, and differences which it was, therefore, in the bourgeoisie's interest to intensify. "Therefore, revolutionary anarchism stands against the notorious 'positive' work of the trade union slugs, rejects all forms of adaption of class proletarian tactics to a narrowly sectional and caste psychology of one or another section of the poor, and advances its mighty proletarian slogans, down with all these

divisions of the proletariat into employed and unemployed... Down with trade-unionism, syndicalism and parliamentarianism, for they have as their aim the prolonging of the agony of the dying enemy."⁽⁸⁰⁾

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Having examined the different strands of Russian anarchism in the 1905 revolution, and discussed their major disagreements, we turn now to look at how the anarchist movement as a whole interpreted the events of 1905; what lessons they claimed to be able to see in it, both for any future revolution and for the role of an anarchist movement in it; and what relationship they saw between their own appearance in the first revolution and the other revolutionary parties in Russia.

The anarchists took great comfort from the knowledge that the revolution in Russia had taken not only the anarchists by surprise, but all the other revolutionary parties. As a result they considered that their theory of the spontaneity and impulsiveness of revolution had been considerably bolstered. Indeed, this view of the 1905 revolution has subsequently been echoed by some Western scholars, who have claimed, for instance, that what occurred was essentially "a spontaneous and chaotic popular upheaval", with the leaders "thrust up suddenly from below", with the political parties' influence being minimal, and with their attempts to direct events being dependent on the whims of the masses.⁽⁸¹⁾

By the beginning of 1905 Khleb i Volia was rejoicing in the spontaneous strike movement enveloping Russia, which had caught unawares both the government and the revolutionary parties. The latter in particular, it proclaimed, were proving themselves unable to keep up with the speed of events. In February, it declared: "This is already not simply a local rebellion, not an uprising of humble and oppressed nationalism, but an all-Russian popular movement that has appeared on the streets of St. Petersburg.".(82)

Throughout the year the anarchists continued to believe in the real possibility of a social revolution in Russia. This belief was hardened by the apparent loss of faith of the peasantry in the myth of the "Tsar liberator", and the spontaneous formation of workers' committees, which often eschewed parliamentary democracy in favour of "direct action". To the anarchists, the Russian worker showed in 1905 that he was aware, "sometimes instinctively, but nevertheless aware, that political freedom for him is an empty phrase, if it does not go as far as his economic freedom".(83) The fact that this worker had for the most part been moderate in his demands did not deflect the anarchists from this belief, since they argued that moderation was due simply to the inability of the people to place their demands at the whole social system instead of at only some part of it. All the worker needed, according to Khleb i Volia, was a little time to be able to fully develop his creative spirit. In any case, the most important

factor to bear in mind was that the workers and peasants were nowhere calling strikes or raising insurrections which demanded the convocation of a Constituent Assembly or anything similar, but were merely taking bread, and whatever land they needed, from the landlord. In other words, their demands were being made on purely economic grounds.⁽⁸⁴⁾

However, by the end of 1905 the belief had begun to harden within the anarchist ranks that little had changed in Russia since January. From now on the analysis of 1905 was to be that of a revolution, anarchist in its origins and motivation, that had quickly fizzled out and failed to realise its potential. "The revolutionary ploughing", as Listki "Khleb i Volia" termed it, had not gone deep enough, with the result that the masses had lost the faith in their own abilities that they had had in 1905, and had fatally begun to delegate their duties to others.⁽⁸⁵⁾

The anarchists believed that this delegation stemmed initially from the issue of the Tsar's October Manifesto, a measure employed by the authorities to buy time and so stem the tide of the revolutionary successes. With the Manifesto came the promise of a Duma, an institution which produced "general stupefaction and disdain" in the eyes of all anarchists. They immediately proclaimed any electioneering for the Duma to be "a senseless waste of time", and urged all revolutionaries to show their contempt for the idea

by boycotting it completely.⁽⁸⁶⁾

The anarchists' calls were not heeded, however, and from the onset of 1906 they had to try to come to terms with what was in their eyes the failure of the revolution in Russia. While not wishing to play down the revolutionary zeal and spirit which the Russian people had displayed up to the October strike (and behind the Moscow barricades in December), the anarchists were forced to admit that the concessions that the autocracy had made in the granting of elections to the Duma had served to quell much of this earlier spirit.⁽⁸⁷⁾ From this point anarchist journals began talking about a temporary lull in the revolutionary mood of the masses, while emphasising that this lull would soon herald a still more terrible storm, for the masses would soon learn that they could expect nothing from a Duma, including one, such as the Second Duma, which contained a number of socialist deputies, supposedly pledged "to blow up the Duma from inside".⁽⁸⁸⁾

The fact that several of the revolutionary parties in Russia had decided to take part in the elections to the Second Duma particularly angered the anarchists, who accused them of self-deception. History had shown that any attempt to create a revolution out of a parliament was sophism, and a socialist majority, Listki "Khleb i Volia" forewarned, could lead only to one thing - state capitalism.⁽⁸⁹⁾ The anarchists dismissed as adventurism of the worst kind, the claims

of the socialists that they were using their presence in the Duma merely as a tribune for their propaganda. To the anarchists, the presence of socialist deputies in the Duma was more evidence of the poison of statism and parliamentarianism which had been instilled into Russian social democracy from the West.⁽⁹⁰⁾

However, anarchist criticism of the role of the socialist parties in Russia during the 1905 revolution went much deeper than the fact that they had taken part in elections to the Second Duma. Most importantly, the anarchists were convinced that the socialist parties had suffered a serious setback as a result of the tactics they had employed in 1905, and in their numerous analyses of the events of that year anarchist writers seldom failed to comment on this. In June, 1905, Khleb i Volia disputed the contention of the Social Democrats that Russia had first to go through a bourgeois revolution and create a parliamentary government before being ripe for the proletarian revolution, and wondered how they could call on the proletariat to spill their blood for the sake of a more complete development of capitalism.⁽⁹¹⁾

The upshot of this was that within Russia, the anarchists proclaimed that under no circumstances would they consider entering into a union with the Social Democrats and throughout 1906 frequent clashes with the Social Democrats were reported in the anarchist press. Such was the intensity of the ideological war waged by groups such as the Beznachaltsy that the

struggle sometimes developed into physical violence.⁽⁹²⁾ Less extreme advocates of anarchism, such as Burevestnik, accused the Social Democrats of having used all their efforts to discredit anarchist ideology, to this end having resorted to "the most unworthy, dishonourable and dirty methods". As a result, the following issue of the journal reiterated the proclamation that "no serious agreement between us is possible".⁽⁹³⁾

Much of the anarchist critique of the role of the Marxist socialists in 1905 was applied to the other main socialist party, the SRs, and the same tactical conclusions were drawn. Once Kropotkin had become acquainted with their demands he was in no doubt that "we have absolutely nothing in common with any of the groups", (and this despite the fact that he was on close personal terms with several of the leading SR alumni in the West). Already in January 1905 Khleb i Volia was referring to the SRs as "opportunists", with whom there could be no reconciliation.⁽⁹⁴⁾

However, this view has to be tempered somewhat. There was no doubt that many of the young anarchist terrorists in Russia had been attracted to the example set by the terrorist wing of the SRs in 1902 and 1903, and it is significant that Grossman, while being one of the most vitriolic critics of Marxism amongst the Russian anarchist terrorists, conceded in August 1906 that some combined work with the SRs was possible in the countryside, insofar as they had undertaken to capture the land for the peasants and were against private property.⁽⁹⁵⁾

Grossman's nod in the direction of the tactics of the SRs should not be exaggerated, since he insisted that anarchists should work to expose their "semi-socialism", but, nevertheless it goes some way towards explaining the close relations that existed between anarchist groups and the SR Maximalists in the 1905 revolution. The latter, in their denial of the usefulness of political parties and their vigorous critique of the state and authority, came very close to the anarchists. And so similar were their tactics - permanent militarism, economic terror and expropriations - that in practice it was often very difficult, if not impossible, to tell them apart. Thus, at the end of 1906 Buntar', while bemoaning the fact that they were still "collectivists and statist", nevertheless praised the Maximalists for their revolutionary tactics, which it saw as a first step towards the ideology of anarchism. After all, it argued, on questions of legality the Maximalists often went further than many anarcho-syndicalists.⁽⁹⁶⁾ It is thus not surprising that many Maximalists subsequently were converted to anarchism.

For all that, the Maximalists' principal theoretician, E. Ustinov (Lozinskii), was in no doubt himself that there could be neither theoretical nor practical agreement between Maximalism and anarchism. "Anarchism is not only destructive", Ustinov wrote, "but it is also antisocial and extremely individualistic: in theory, it is the natural son of the bourgeois world-view...

in practice it is the ideological representative of the lumpenproletariat, displaying its instincts and actions".(97)

The need for socialists to struggle against the views of the anarchists following the latter's appearance on the revolutionary scene in 1905 was a common theme in many of the books and articles written by Russian socialists of all kinds in 1906 and 1907. They conceded in turn that such a struggle was not made any easier by the sheer diversity and contradictoriness of the anarchists' views, and by the essentially negative character of the teaching, with its denial of the principle of the state.(98)

Some warned that it should not be assumed by socialists in Europe that because little had been heard about the anarchist movement in Russia during the 1905 revolution, they therefore had played no part in it. They also admitted that to some extent the socialists had been caught unprepared for an ideological struggle with the anarchists, especially the anarcho-syndicalists.(99)

As for Lenin, after 1905 he remained largely silent on these tactical issues, directing his attacks instead on the social underpinnings of anarchist ideology. Arguing that the Bolsheviks considered state power even more essential after a revolution, he wrote of the Russian anarchists: "their views express not the future of bourgeois society, which is striding with

irresistible force towards the socialisation of labour, but the present and even the past of that society, the domination of blind chance over the scattered and isolated small producer".(100)

Following 1905, Lenin spent some time describing the wide gulf that he considered separated socialism from anarchism. This concern on Lenin's part can be taken as evidence that he considered the emergent anarchist movement in Russia to be a possible threat towards his own party's aspirations. Thus, in a series of articles he underlined his view that the anarchists possessed "a complete misunderstanding of the differences between democratic and socialist revolutions", that they had failed to see the value of "parliamentarianism in its historically defined significance" in the shape of the Duma, and that they were disorganised and lacked "iron discipline".(101)

* * * * *

But if Lenin saw a potential threat from the anarchists, it was the prospect of anarcho-syndicalism becoming a revolutionary force in Russia that provoked most hostility from the socialists. From 1906 denunciations of anarcho-syndicalism began to appear in the writings of Russian socialists. These writers were not unaware, of course, that syndicalism, unlike pure anarchism, actually attempted to unite the proletariat into an organisational force, and so presented a genuine

alternative to the Marxism propagated by the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. To counteract this possibility, the socialists derided the obsession the anarcho-syndicalists displayed with decentralisation, especially in the political sphere.⁽¹⁰²⁾

This wariness towards anarcho-syndicalism was reflected in turn by the optimistic note for the future struck by the Russian syndicalists. Indeed, the events of 1905 served to bolster the beliefs of syndicalists to a considerably greater extent than either the terrorists or the Khlebevolytsy. The spontaneous formation of radical workers' committees, and the subsequent legalisation of the trade unions in March 1906 were seen as great steps forward towards the spread of syndicalist ideas in the workforce. The anarcho-syndicalists thoroughly approved of the new trade unions in Russia, considering that they did not have the mixed, non-class character which the movement had had in the 1890s.

Further, the anarcho-syndicalists were naturally encouraged by the strikes that had spread like a rash across the face of industrial Russia since 1903, culminating in the general strike of mid-October 1905. As noted before, their few converts played no part in the initial stages of the Russian strike movement, but there is no reason to doubt that anarcho-syndicalism in Russia benefitted enormously from the appearance of such a movement, and from the

manner in which the strikes were called and executed. Not only had the strikes been "spontaneous", but their objective had often been economic and not political, or so the anarcho-syndicalists believed. Thus, by the end of 1906 the anarcho-syndicalists could allow themselves to believe that their faith in the trade union as the organisation and the general strike as the tactic of revolution had been vindicated by the experience of the Russian revolution.⁽¹⁰³⁾

But the syndicalists' optimism for the future was cast into a shadow by the stubborn refusal of their anarchist comrades to take up the syndicalist cause. An anarchist in the penultimate number of Listki "Khleb i Volia" in the summer of 1907 admitted that Russian workers had shown strong syndicalist tendencies, "but our comrades, for the most part, are still anti-syndicalists."⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ In terms of pure numbers, this remained the case at the end of 1907 - anarcho-syndicalism was still little more than a theoretical expression of a few anarchists who had to fight a fierce polemical battle with the anti-syndicalists. This battle was more than enough to instill in many of the anarcho-syndicalists in the years to follow a cynical view of the whole progress of the 1905 revolution, and of the anarchists' role in it.

* * * * *

Some commentators on the 1905 revolution, particularly Soviet ones, have seen little evidence of the influence of the Russian anarchist movement. It has been claimed that they "did not perform a single revolutionary act of any importance" that they "did not give Russia a single outstanding revolutionary leader, did not provide a single idea of value to the revolution", that their methods "degenerated into sheer banditry", and that "with their expropriations and terrorist acts they only introduced disorganisation into the ranks of the fighters against tsarism".(105)

To some extent, much of this critique was accepted by anarchists at the time. Burevestnik's leading article in its first issue, dated July 1906, praised the success that the anarchist activists within Russia had achieved towards spreading understanding about anarchism, an understanding that two years previously had been the exclusive presence of a small handful of the Russian intelligentsia. However, Burevestnik gloomily confessed, despite this few people knew what anarchism really stood for. Many of the young revolutionaries who had flung themselves into the anarchist cause were themselves a product of the revolution, poorly educated in the realms of political theory (and unwilling to become its patient pupils), and lacking in an understanding of the tactics and programme of anarchism.(106)

Therefore, they argued, future revolutions in Russia had to be prepared by the twofold tactics of anarchists entering into non-party workers' organisations, where their propaganda would have far more chance of influencing powerful sections of the proletariat, and in encouraging those workers' organisations towards a general strike which was to serve as the prelude to the anarchist revolution. We shall see that in the years between the two revolutions, the anarcho-syndicalists succeeded in converting a large number from within the anarchist movement to acceptance of the view that workers had to be organised to succeed against capital.

Many of their converts were to be from the Khlebivolttsy, who, from the autumn of 1906, became sensitive to the accusations of non-acceptance of organisation that had been levelled against them from the anarcho-syndicalists. Kropotkin's optimistic belief that organisational work could be carried out by itself, in the actual process of the revolutionary struggle, came in for criticism from his own supporters. The experience of 1905 led many of them to become increasingly aware of the romantic pre-industrial revolution view of his anarchism, which gave to it both a utopian and a reactionary ring. The fact that it had little to say about the problems of the worker in a modern urban industrial society, concentrating instead on such abstract generalities as the freedom of the individual, was of little practical value to the anarchist propagandist working

in Russia after 1905. It seems likely that the experience of the 1905 revolution left many Khlebiuoltsy with a feeling of the inevitable contradictoriness of their position, and a subsequent desire, perhaps, to attempt to modify it slightly to fit in with a Russia rapidly growing in industrial strength.

Coupled with growing misgivings about the ideological content of anarchism went an admittance made by most of the anarchist émigrés at least, of tactical failures in 1905. Inside Russia, what agitation there had been turned out to have been neither co-ordinated nor united, leaflets and proclamations on the important questions of the day either not appearing at all, or else coming out only after considerable delay, when they had lost much of their interest. Little or no exchange of thoughts and experiences had taken place between the isolated groups and individuals within Russia, leaving a paucity of theoretical development for the movement as a whole. Perhaps not surprisingly, the movement never managed to equip itself with a single large printing-press to serve the needs of all the multifarious groups, and neither was any serious attempt made to spread propaganda of a positive nature. As one agitator grimly reported in June 1907, anarchist propaganda had only been successful so long as the content was critical, negative. "It was very easy to convince the workers and peasants of the harm of any authority, whatever it was, and of the poverty of parliamentarianism".

But they had no answers to the question of how to achieve statelessness practically, when and how to make the transfer to the future society.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

All of this had the effect of leaving the Russian citizen to a large extent ignorant of the ideology of anarchism, apart from what could be gleaned from the government circulars stressing the need to struggle against "anarchy" within the country. The anarchist took on the appearance of a fanaticist, of someone thirsting for chaos for chaos' sake. To the public at large the anarchists came to be seen as young men in a hurry, more than ready to resort to daring attacks upon banks and government money shipments, while to other Russian revolutionaries they were condemned as potentially extremely harmful influences to the success of the workers' struggle.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾

Terrorism, of course, was largely responsible for this image, and once again the movement in emigration was forced to admit that even genuine anarchists, especially the younger ones, had found themselves caught up in the vicious circle of "partial" expropriations, powerless to adopt any other road until the movement was effectively wiped out in Russia in 1908. Despite the temporary successes, the tactics from their very origins carried within themselves the inevitable elements of their future disintegration. As well as the closing of factories, lockouts and the subsequent turning of the workers against the anarchists, the terror brought fiercer repressions upon the movement's head than might otherwise have occurred.

This had clearly not been the intention of the theorists of economic terror, who had been justifiably excited by the successes of the anarchists in Bialystok in 1903, since at that time terror was openly resorted to when some strike or other was in need of additional "pressure". They blamed not the tactic per se, but the "cursed conditions of 1905, which brought the anarchists onto the stage of Russian reality so late, at the very height of the revolution, not giving us any opportunity to organise.".(109) Reviewing the past two years, Buntar', at the end of 1906, conceded that the anarchist movement should not go through another period of sacrifice as it had when small groups of men risked being hitched up on the gallows every hour. "Our comrades are perishing... And after each fresh grave there remains a bitter, offensive feeling of the fruitlessness, the futility of sacrifice. The awareness gnaws away that the death of the comrade was not inevitable... that with different conditions... he would have achieved much... And the thought appears that the same fate awaits those who remain alive - to perish needlessly, uselessly, to die 'for nothing'.".(110)

In conclusion, many anarchists came to admit that as long as they remained in their small groups they would have little or no opportunity to aid in the social revolution. There had to be some organisation of the masses, which had inevitably to be legal and

have its roots in the daily life of the working class. Some were confident that there was every reason to believe that within large-scale syndicates operating on decentralised lines a revolutionary minority such as the anarchists would have ample scope for the presentation of their ideology.

Nevertheless, the syndicalists admitted that a broad, open anarchist organisation in normal peaceful conditions was hardly possible in Russia. "Constitutional" reasons would be found by the state to destroy any pure revolutionary work on such a scale. A tight-knit anarchist organisation was hindered not only by purely doctrinal reasons, but also because the creation of such an organisation was bound to meet with huge obstacles even in the freest of settings. This was clearly illustrated, they lamented, in the troubled history of the French revolutionary syndicates. One syndicalist writer concluded his thoughts on this subject on a pessimistic note: "To think that it is possible in peace time to create without hindrance a genuine mass workers' organisation with a pure, revolutionary programme is in my opinion as utopian as the naive dreaming of the Social Democrats, who believe that they can capture state power by means of an electoral pamphlet." (111)

The practical organisational difficulties were, however, by and large the same for all the revolutionary parties operating in Russia. Those of the anarchists'

were exacerbated, as we have already noted, by doctrinal confusion. Along with a decentralised political and economic system, and inextricably tied up with it, was the positive anarchist belief, fundamental to the ideology, in freedom of the individual. While no anarchist denied the importance of this principle as the major philosophical driving-force of the ideology, disagreements within the movement arose over the degree of emphasis to be placed on it.

It would be wrong, however, to end this chapter on a note of total despondency. The Russian anarchists were nothing if not optimistic dreamers, and they took solace from the undeniable fact that certain sections of Russian society had indeed become attracted to the anarchist notion of imminent total revolution. Neither was this appeal restricted exclusively to Russia. During their years in forced exile in the West, the anarchists were to gain a good deal of support for their contention that revolution was objectively possible at any time. They themselves, despite the disillusionment we have made frequent reference to, were convinced that there would be another revolution soon. Anarchist journals talked of the dissatisfaction of the Russian people with the illusory victory of political freedom, of the belief that the lull in the revolutionary storm was a purely temporary state of affairs.⁽¹¹²⁾

Significantly, the anarchist writers were aware that their movement, in any future revolution, would be small in numbers and would have no allies, and so

they also talked in terms of bravery and courage against their enemy, the socialists. Those who speculated on the possibility of a future socialist state reiterated that it would come only as the result of a revolution that was content merely to swap names. Then, the parasites, gaolers and executioners would be called Social Democrats, while the poor and starving, "filling the prisons and dying on the gallows for real freedom and equality, will be called anarchists".⁽¹¹³⁾ Novomirskii predicted that it would be "the Liberals and Socialists who will reap the rewards of our efforts, form a new state power, and then direct their efforts against us. Who, apart from small groups of rebels, will be for us then?"⁽¹¹⁴⁾

Echoing this fear, a writer in the terrorist journal, Anarkhist, summarising the anarchist movement in 1905, proclaimed:

"The first period of anarchism in Russia was critical, destructive: it has ended. This first period is moving into the past, becoming a part of history... We will not repeat the same mistakes."⁽¹¹⁵⁾

CHAPTER IV

THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT

BETWEEN THE TWO REVOLUTIONS

THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO REVOLUTIONS:

This chapter looks at the years 1907-1917 which are, properly speaking, the history of the anarchist movement in forced emigration in the West. While anarchists continued to infiltrate clandestinely into Russia in these years, most of the movement's activity was necessarily confined to the revolutionary centres in Western Europe and America. Therefore, this chapter attempts to act as a bridge between the anarchist movement in Russia in 1905 and 1917. It deals principally with the heightening of the internal debate between the anarcho-syndicalists and the terrorists, a debate which continued to centre around three central tactical questions - the use of terror; the need for tighter organisation (and, allied with this, the need for regular conferences and a common journal to cement the ties between the factions); and entry into trade unions, so as to spread the anarchist word and halt the influence of Marxism.

From 1909 the third faction within the movement, the Khlebivoltzy, effectively ceased to exist, members joining one of the remaining factions (apart from a few who continued to remain faithful to the increasingly isolated Kropotkin). By 1917 there were only two major factions within the anarchist movement - the anarcho-syndicalists, and the descendants of the terrorists, the anarchist communists.

In addition, the chapter has an underlying theme - the inability of the movement to forge itself into a viable political force in time to return to the revo-

lutionary scene in Russia in 1917. While much of this was due to the irreconcilable nature of the above-mentioned doctrinal disputes, the movement in emigration also suffered throughout from the particularly zealous attention of the Okhrana, an organisation dedicated to ensuring that the anarchist group's best-laid plans never came to fruition. Access to Okhrana records of these years allows us to take a close look at the attention it paid to the political threat that an organised anarchist movement posed to Russia.

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We first turn to the continued use of the tactic of terrorism inside Russia. Although Stolypin's repressions had got well under way by the onset of 1907, anarchist terrorist groups continued to fight for their existence well into 1908. This was particularly so in Ekaterinoslav where the situation was such that the anarchist groups there were able to operate openly throughout 1907. There is evidence that they continued to hold sway in some factories: resolutions at the Trubnyi factory, and amongst the railway workers, at the end of February 1907, came out in favour of employing anarchist tactics of expropriation for the furtherance of the revolution.⁽¹⁾ Anarkhist later felt able to report that for the first half of 1907, "anarchism enveloped all spheres of industry, both large and small, of Ekaterinoslav, and two of the neighbouring factory settlements, Amur and Nizhepetrovsk."⁽²⁾

However, from the middle of 1907 the Okhrana appear to have begun to gain the upper hand in their fight against the anarchists. This fight culminated in the simultaneous arrest, in February 1908, of around 75 terrorists connected with an Ekaterinoslav-based anarchist group, the Boevaia Internatsional'naia Gruppa Anarkhistov Kommunistov. The leader of the group, which had been formed in April 1907, was Sergei Borisov, a man who caused the tsarist authorities much trouble until his arrest. Sentenced to penal servitude as early as March 1905, Borisov escaped from the Aleksandrovsk prison the following day. Having arrived in Sevastopol', in June 1907, he organised a spectacular escape of twenty-one prisoners held in the military prison, who had been sentenced to death for their part in the Potemkin mutiny.⁽³⁾

Although the Okhrana had little difficulty in infiltrating Borisov's group, it was unable to prevent the expropriation of 60,000 roubles from a post-office in Verkhnedneprovsk in October 1907.⁽⁴⁾ After this, Borisov and some of his lieutenants fled to Geneva, where plans were made for large-scale terrorist acts, such as the assassination of the Gubernator-General of Kiev. The Okhrana, however, had different plans, and once Borisov had smuggled his way into Odessa, the hunt was on. Provocateurs played a large part in the swift arrests of the Ekaterinoslav group in 1908, the eventual result of which was to bring 21 anarchists to trial in Kiev two years later.⁽⁵⁾

Borisov's group was notable for the fact that it was formed largely out of terrorists living in Geneva, disillusioned with the West and convinced that a continuation of the exploits of 1906 would help to ignite the smouldering fire of revolutionary enthusiasm in Russia. Other terrorist groups, however, while calling themselves anarchists, by 1907 appear to have been little more than bandit gangs operating from within Russia, with no connection with émigrés in the West.

Perhaps the most infamous of these was Svoboda Vnutri Nas, an armed detachment which operated from Sevastopol'.⁽⁶⁾ Formed at the beginning of 1907, the group came together as a result of disillusionment towards SR tactics. In their first publication, Izveshchenie, the following declaration was made: "We cannot work within the SR party, we refuse to submit to the directives of a congress, and we find our own work outside the party more productive". (This was a reference to the SR Congress at which, through Azev, it was decided to centralise terrorist activities.) Svoboda Vnutri Nas managed to acquire a secret printing-press and produced several leaflets, some of which had circulations of 30,000. Police were terrorised and land-owners' barns were burnt down in Kherson guberniia over a sufficiently long period to suggest that the detachment had some sympathy amongst the populace. Widespread arrests occurred in early 1908, and the rump of the group were tried in Sevastopol' in December of that year.⁽⁷⁾

It was more usual, however, for terrorist groups which continued to operate into 1907 and 1908 to receive funds, supplies, and often personnel from the West.⁽⁸⁾ Despite the repressions and the apparent failure of their tactics, many of the anarchist terrorists who had managed to flee to the West still clung tenaciously to their views, and dreamed only of returning to Russia to carry out one last terrorist act. In fact, their establishment of contact with groups inside Russia only served to further damage the anarchist movement, since by the middle of 1907 the Tsarist Okhrana was able, by use of provocateurs in the émigré centres in the West, to easily trace the whereabouts and activities of these groups.

As we have already seen, anarchist terrorist émigrés showed themselves capable of starting their own journals and newspapers upon arrival from Russia. These organs were financed out of money expropriated in Russia, and the editorial groups included those terrorists who had already made a name for themselves in the sphere of terrorism. Some of these remained activists and attempted to carry out terrorist acts in the West, though as far as can be gathered from the Okhrana reports, with less success than they had achieved in Russia. Thus at the end of 1907 an attempt at a "mandate" against a rich oil-industrialist in Lausanne backfired, leading to the arrest of eighteen Russian anarchists, as well as weapons and a printing-press.⁽⁹⁾

Just before this a gang of Russian anarchist émigrés, together with French comrades, had been caught in the process of trying to forge francs.⁽¹⁰⁾ The more extreme-minded terrorists in emigration began to consider the tactic of political terror, supposedly denied by anarchism, as useless. Plans were hatched in April 1907 in Geneva to assassinate the Tsar and place a bomb in the Duma. Neither plan, of course, came to fruition, but that did not prevent others from proposing in August to kill off all the Kings and Presidents in Europe one after the other. While such plans were meant to be secret, the Okhrana appear to have had no difficulty in forestalling them.⁽¹¹⁾

From the reports that it has left behind, the Okhrana appears to have found it remarkably easy to infiltrate anarchist groups both within Russia, and especially in the émigré communities of the West. We have already seen that the entire Borisov organisation was under surveillance from the end of 1907, seemingly as a result of the discovery of the smuggling of arms and literature into Russia. The anarchists themselves appear to have been aware of the state of affairs, yet were at a loss to deal with the provocateurs in their midst. The very nature of the groups enabled anyone who professed allegiance to the ideology of anarchism free access to all meetings and all information concerning the activities of the other members.⁽¹²⁾

Apart from the movement's stronghold, Ekaterinoslav, mention should also be made of some of the other small

groups which continued to operate in 1907. A good example of one of these was Makhno's group in Gulai-Pole. A typical anarchist centre, lying a short distance to the south-east of Ekaterinoslav near the shores of the Sea of Azov, the town of Gulai-Pole, with its fifty thousand inhabitants, was the birth-place of Nestor Makhno. The youngest son of poor peasants (his father died a year after he was born), Makhno joined the anarchist group in Gulai-Pole in 1906 at the age of seventeen, having worked as a painter from the age of fourteen, and then as a smelter at the Gulai-Pole agricultural machine works - an archetypal case history of a Russian anarchist terrorist.

After a short period of printing and distributing proclamations, the Gulai-Pole group began terrorist activities in September 1906, and by the end of the year had successfully carried out three armed robberies of local merchants.⁽¹³⁾ Things started to go wrong for the group from the summer of 1907, and in October the police were led to the group by a provocateur. This did not prevent the group from completing further robberies as late as July 1908. At the end of that month some were arrested after a shootout with the police, and the rest survived another month, when they, and Makhno, were also arrested. A few escaped, and one was hanged by the local authorities. The others, all found guilty, were handed over for sentencing to the Odessa district court martial in Ekaterinoslav.

Makhno was sentenced to death by hanging, but because of his youth, the sentence was commuted to twenty years penal servitude in Moscow's Butyrki prison, an experience that was to leave him with an extreme hatred of prisons and a lifelong commitment to anarchism.⁽¹⁴⁾

Elsewhere, Warsaw saw a brief resurrection of earlier terrorist groups, from the summer of 1906 to the end of 1907. In the winter of 1906, new groups of Chernoznamentsy placed themselves at the head of a series of economic strikes in the district, but early in 1907 more than twenty anarchists were thrown into prison, while several secret store-houses of weapons, bombs and literature were discovered. The remaining anarchists went on to take a close part in a huge strike of cobblers which lasted for six months from July 1907. Terror continued to play its part, and seven bomb explosions in the flats of the factory owners, one murder and two large expropriations were recorded. Following the crushing of this strike, the anarchists fled underground, thus effectively ending the open activity of the anarchists in Warsaw.⁽¹⁵⁾

Otherwise, small groups continued to work in 1907 in Tiflis (the Svoboda group, which received aid from two anarchist brothers in Geneva, the Kereselidzes), Baku, Vilna (where groups operated from a dentist's surgery and a Jewish synagogue), Minsk (Bezvlastie), Poltava guberniia, Odessa, Bialystok (where provocateurs were particularly active), Moscow (where the earlier Khleбиволtsy groups had largely drifted into terrorism

and banditry), Briansk, Riga, Ekaterinburg, Kishinev, and Khotin, Bessarabia (the border town which was used to smuggle arms across).⁽¹⁶⁾

The days of these groups were numbered as arrests continued apace in 1907, further crippling the movement's weak organisational structure. Prisons in the south and west of the Empire began to overflow with political prisoners, many of whom were anarchists who saw only two alternatives in prison - escape or suicide.⁽¹⁷⁾ Obituaries to the martyrs of the cause continued to appear unabated in the anarchist press throughout 1907 and into 1908. According to incomplete evidence, between 1907 and 1909 more than 26,000 people were sentenced for perpetrating illegal political acts, 5,086 of which were sentenced to death.⁽¹⁸⁾ While it is impossible to gauge the numerical strength of the anarchists, it is fair to assume that many in the latter category died on the scaffold in the name of anarchism.

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As we have already outlined, despite this desperate state of affairs, a fierce ideological battle on the merits of terrorist activity in Russia continued to be waged. While it was certainly the case that the earlier motiveless terrorism had been largely abandoned by the onset of 1907, some of its former proponents and others continued to argue the need for a terrorist struggle against the tsarist autocracy.

By the middle of 1908, Buntar' had come out in favour of what it called organised terror. Far from rejecting the notion completely, terrorism had to be on a mass scale, and not concern itself with petty acts. Disorganisation and the isolation of one terrorist group from another were seen to be the reasons for the failure of terrorism, and not the very concept itself.⁽¹⁹⁾ Anarchist tactics had still "to answer horror with horror", and the claim that "Terror is used on the bourgeoisie not only because of their crimes, but out of the very crime of being bourgeois" was repeated.⁽²⁰⁾

In January 1909, when the last issue of Buntar' was published, terrorism was still expressly accepted as being necessary to combat the united capitalists. Although it admitted that the times were far from favourable, it nevertheless insisted on the necessity of continuing the job. Terror was a great exposé of tyrants, needed to be applied twice - "once to defeat the enemy, and then again to ensure that they do not try to form a government and woo the workers and peasants with offers of an assembly". However, terrorist acts would only have effect if they were aimed at the very centre of the "bourgeois reaction", backed up by widespread oral propaganda, explaining why the acts were being carried out.⁽²¹⁾

The other main avowedly pro-terrorist émigré journal was Anarkhist, edited by German Karlovich Askarov, (a Kievan who wrote under the name Oskar Burritt). The

journal came out in Geneva in 1907 for one issue, and then continued its existence from 1908-1910 in Paris. In its first issue, in October 1907, Anarkhist proclaimed that a party could only be revolutionary "when it follows the tactics of violent struggle by a path of destruction of the present state and capitalist system."⁽²²⁾ Nevertheless, the article went on to admit, it was not easy for the public to ascertain who was working under a genuinely idealistic banner, and who was only hiding under it. Anarkhist, therefore, accepted the need to differentiate between acts of terrorism. But it clung to the already vain belief that terrorist attacks were "acts of deep significance" for the workers, removing their sympathy for the bourgeoisie, and replacing it with a burning hatred.⁽²³⁾

The leading article of the second issue, in April 1908, reaffirmed the belief in terrorism, with language even more extreme in its denunciation of the bourgeoisie. The latter had to be shown up for their "eternal crimes of exploitation", so that "people will happily dance over the blood of the bourgeoisie.". The "comedy of liberalism" would be jettisoned, the bourgeoisie would silently join the ranks of the reaction, and the revolution would be left to reveal all its underground forces. "Terror", it proclaimed, "is the best method of destroying any power - terror directed not only against the autocracy and its talented representatives, but also against the state and all those who live and breathe it, against all who serve it with support and defence".⁽²⁴⁾

Anarkhist was equally uncompromising on the need for continued expropriations. Such acts were necessary, it argued, both in order to remove the privileges from the bourgeoisie and to organise a revolutionary struggle by violent means. "We stand against the organised violence, sanctioned by the laws of the state and common morality... and find justification for partisan action (in the sense of terrorist acts and expropriations) in the higher right of justice, in the laws of the hungry, enslaved and poor masses, who wish to throw off the fetters of exploitation. We have loved our enemies long enough! We want to hate them!" Generosity from the bourgeoisie to provide "maintenance" should neither be reckoned on, nor accepted if offered.⁽²⁵⁾

In point of fact, within the movement as a whole, there was more agreement on the question of expropriations than acts of terror. Reluctantly, in some cases, it was agreed that for anarchist groups to continue to survive and publish propaganda, funds were necessary. Few anarchists of any kind were prepared to stomach contributions from "bourgeois" sources in any shape or form, and so expropriations were seen as essential for the maintenance of the anarchist movement in emigration. The difference was that while the terrorists openly called for expropriations in the name of the social revolution, the anarcho-syndicalists and Kropotkin's supporters argued that their use should be restricted purely to

organisational needs.⁽²⁶⁾ These latter were, of course, afraid that the masses would interpret anarchist expropriations as straightforward thefts. While having no respect whatsoever for the private capital of the bourgeoisie, the syndicalists nevertheless foresaw huge scope for "charlatanism" in the carrying out of expropriations. It was not difficult for common criminals to call themselves anarchists, and then how would anyone be able to differentiate them from "genuine" anarchists?

It was ultimately this moral aspect of the question which dogged the critics the most, yet for their survival they remained at the mercy of the expropriations within Russia. At best they could only make practical suggestions - so-called petty "exs" should be abandoned, proclamations should be sent out after each robbery, the iniquitous "mandates" should cease (such letters were in any case considered by many terrorists to be cowardly and too easily led to compromises with the bourgeoisie), and expropriations should be restricted to public institutions, banks, etc., where they should not be carried out individually, but as a group effort.⁽²⁷⁾

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The second major debate within the anarchist movement after 1906 concerned the need for tighter organisation. Reviewing the situation in November 1907 the anarcho-

syndicalist, Maksim Raevskii, wrote: "the ceaseless anarchist propaganda in the course of the last three years, the endless series of sacrifices, carried out by the anarchists at the altar of the Russian revolution, have not produced the results which we had a right to hope for. At the present moment we have to make the following sad testament of our movement in Russia: there is no strong, well-organised anarchist nucleus, and anarchism - that is, conscious, and not spontaneous, anarchism - had not formed deep roots in wide sections of the working masses".(28)

It was certainly not possible, Raevskii continued, to blame the psychology of the proletariat or peasantry for this state of affairs, since they had shown themselves to contain significant elements of "spontaneity" in the slogans they had espoused and the demands they had made. No, clearly a "reappraisal of the methods of struggle" of the activists in Russia was overdue for the anarchist movement. "Unfortunately," Raevskii observed, "far from all the Russian anarchists have learnt from the experience of three years' work, and many of them continue to defend the old tactics". To counteract this, isolationism both within the movement and from the working masses had to end. An organised movement was now an essential pre-requisite for a successful revolution.(29)

Much of this assessment must undoubtedly have stemmed from the movement's attempts to join together in 1907. In January an abortive conference was

held in Paris, attended by Kropotkin, Gogelila, Goldsmith and other alumni of Khleb i Volia. The group had launched Listki "Khleb i Volia" in the previous autumn, and it hoped to import the newspaper into Russia via the terrorist Chernoznamentalsy in Paris and Geneva. The ostensible aims of the conference were to unite the two factions, start a common organ and fund, and share the means acquired for conspiratorial work (smuggling of arms and literature into Russia). It is not clear if the two factions ever met formally, but whether they did or not, nothing came from this early attempt at unification in Paris.⁽³⁰⁾

Significantly, there was greater success within Russia. Despite the harshness of the repressions, two anarchist conferences are known to have been held in Russia in 1907.⁽³¹⁾ The first was organised in April by the Urals group of anarchist communists and although apparently successful, it suffered from being a purely regional affair.⁽³²⁾

But it is clear from the resolutions accepted at this conference that, unlike some in the West, these anarchist communists were keen to forge proper organisational links before it was too late.

The second conference was that of the anarchist-communists of Poland and Lithuania, organised in June with the active participation of provocateurs. Immediately after it, not only were nearly all the participants arrested but so were many anarchists in towns which delegates had represented. Despite the fact

that the aim of the conference had been to connect more tightly the groups in Warsaw, Lodz, Bialystok, Grodno, Minsk and the other centres of anarchism in the region, the farcical result was sufficient to put an end to any such thoughts, at least for the time being. (33)

Not surprisingly, news of the arrests made at this conference made anarchists in the West all the more wary of provovateurs in their midst, and at the same time made the question of organisation all the more acute. The major initiative came from the Burevestnik group in Geneva. Its plan, published as early as November 1906, was for all anarchist groups to be responsible to an All-Russian Information Bureau, which, it stressed, would not be a "Central Committee" in any way. (34)

A further, more detailed organisational blue-print appeared in April 1907. In short, it stressed the need for autonomy of groups within the movement, but nevertheless called for a federative structure, headed by a Bureau, which, for reasons of conspiracy, would be split into two, one in Russia and the other abroad. The Bureau and its organ would be financially supported by "donations" from the groups, and a congress would be held at least once a year. It would be at these congresses that common resolutions would be taken and common tactics worked out. (35)

In fact, the Russian anarchists in emigration never managed to hold such a congress between 1907 and 1917.

Instead, Burevestnik had to content itself with attending the International Anarchist Congress, held in Amsterdam in August 1907. The convocation of this international show of solidarity was in itself a feat for the European anarchist movement, for it was the first real international congress since 1881. The Amsterdam Congress was actually called by Belgian and Dutch groups, but there were several Russians amongst the eighty delegates, including the Khleb i Volia group. (36)

The spirit of Burevestnik at the congress was expressed by Rogdaev, a "mild" syndicalist at this time. In his comprehensive report on the different trends in Russian anarchism he proclaimed that the individual acts of daring which had made the anarchists famous in the 1905 revolution in Russia had now to be reduced to the realms of history, and that the movement as a whole had now to prepare for the new epoch ahead, the epoch of collective action. He called for all anarchists to organise themselves before it was too late. "Some comrades consider the congress to be no more than a 'Little Parliament', and dislike the word 'organisation'. If we understand the word in the Marxist sense, in the sense of strict centralisation, with a Politburo and iron discipline for the party ranks, then it is clear that we anarchists are against such an organisation. But from this it does not follow that we are in general against any organisation, and that therefore we should steer clear of using this word.

Of course not."⁽³⁷⁾ This viewpoint was reinforced in the first point of the Congress' declaration: "The ideas of anarchism and organisation not only do not contradict one another, as is sometimes thought, but, on the contrary, mutually enrich and illuminate one another."⁽³⁸⁾

Many of the delegates, Rogdaev included, hoped to form an Anarchist International out of the Congress.⁽³⁹⁾

But as far as the movement in Russia was concerned such hopes were hardly likely to be realised. Indeed, shortly after the Congress Rogdaev wrote to Anarkhist complaining about the apathy which the terrorists were showing towards the call for unification. "It is very sad that not all the Russian delegates who wished to be at the Amsterdam Congress were present. This is in part explained by the repressions and recent arrests."⁽⁴⁰⁾ Rogdaev was implying that repressions did not tell the whole story.

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Rogdaev's letter was a sign of the growing acrimony between the two major factions within the émigré anarchist movement. It became clear that both sides agreed in principle on the need for, at the least, a general congress, but 1908 was to see further disagreement over how to convene it. These disagreements were amplified as a result of the increasing emergence of syndicalism within the European anarchist movement as a whole.⁽⁴¹⁾ By 1907 syndicalism was seen as a threat

not just to the other factions within the anarchist movement, but also to socialists, most notably Lenin and the Bolsheviks.⁽⁴²⁾

The terrorists' fight against the influence of anarcho-syndicalism on the émigrés was led by the Grossman brothers. In October 1907, Abram was allowed to pen a major article in the pages of Burevestnik putting forward his total rejection of anarcho-syndicalism. Grossman argued that syndicalism was the specific product of French conditions which, when applied to Russia, was dangerous (and could be fatal) for the future of anarchism. The syndicate was an organ of mutual insurance for the workers and capitalists, a bureaucracy standing outside the sphere of the direct class struggle, armed with officials, funds and capital, and with a vested interest in lowering the number of strikes. Because the syndicates were open to all who paid the dues, members inevitably tended to be the better-paid, skilled workers only interested in securing an eight-hour working day and a minimum wage. Further, the methods of struggle proposed by syndicalism differed hardly at all from parliamentarianism - both relied on bourgeois socialists and radicals to win the workers' battles for them. No, if the workers wanted a revolution, Grossman asserted, they had no need to wait for the agreement of a syndicate. A general strike could be realised via a group of brave, resolute anarchists bringing the country to a standstill by stopping the railways, blowing up bridges, ripping up rails and putting the engines out of action.

Neither could the syndicates be the organisers of production in the future society - the members were as likely as any other group of people to behave like oppressors once they found themselves running the economy. Insisting that it was the masses who would have to take up this task, Grossman ended by warning his comrades that just as Social Democracy had destroyed socialism, so anarcho-syndicalism was hindering the development of anarchism in Europe.⁽⁴³⁾

Grossman's article brought an immediate reply from the anarcho-syndicalists. Raevskii, openly denouncing the "Nechaevist tactics" of such groups as Beznachalie, accused Grossman and his comrades of "duplicity" in their evaluation of the psychology of the masses, and of Blanquism in their insistence on working outside the broad labour movement.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Further, at the end of 1907 Burevestnik once again called for a congress and for greater organisational links between the factions. Significantly, however, the call came more as a response to articles in Anarkhist in October. The Paris terrorists had urged the immediate convocation of a conference so as to iron out differences of opinion over entry into trade unions and expropriations.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Burevestnik, the following month, agreed on the need for such a conference, but was insistent that it had to be planned carefully. A rush job would merely play into the hands of the provocateurs, it warned, mindful no doubt of the earlier conference of Polish and Lithuanian anarchists. The first task for the movement, therefore, was to purge itself of "undesirable and

suspicious elements." Until then any attempt to organise a congress Burevestnik considered to be "premature, and possibly extremely dangerous." (46)

By the beginning of 1908 relations between the anarcho-syndicalists and terrorists were at a low point. A public clash occurred in February when Burevestnik found it necessary to have to report that it had refused to lend money to Buntar' (on the grounds of "having sufficient basis to treat the establishment of local Buntarsty with no faith"), as a result of which three nights later, "downright havoc" had occurred in the printing-press of the journal. "At first we thought that this nocturnal expedition was the work of Russian hooligans and spies... but the next day we received two letters from the authors of the chaos, declaring that by their action they had paid back the Burevestnik group for the refusal to provide money, and again made a demand, threatening, in the case of a new refusal, similar trips to Burevestnik". (47)

Thus, it is doubtful whether any real agreement between the two factions would have been reached had a congress been convened. Buntar' made no secret of its differences of opinion with Burevestnik over this and other issues, considering attempts to cover them up unnecessary. "Only fools and dunces can be in complete agreement with one another" it declared. "When there are no differences of opinion there is no thought, and stagnation rules." (48) It considered that a

congress, when convened, should concentrate all its energies on discussing ways of working again in Russia. Money, weapons and literature had to be gathered together to despatch a fighting detachment to the homeland, and theoretical debates around the conference table would not resolve this problem. For the time being propaganda work abroad should be abandoned in favour of an all out drive to restart the movement's former activities in Russia.⁽⁴⁹⁾

Clearly, the Buntar' group still refused in 1908 to accept the uselessness of their former tactics. If propaganda work of any kind was to be carried out in Russia, means were needed for the task, and these means, Buntar' insisted, had to come via expropriations either in Russia or in Western Europe. It was time, they believed, to cease "begging" for money, that is, collecting it by legal means through meetings, etc. "To count on financial agreements with the hungry and unemployed is at the very least naive. We will very quickly have to enter into agreements with 'revolutionary students' and the 'sympathetic' bourgeoisie, and for those gentlemen one has to wear white gloves, to water down our anarchism, and so water down our spirit."⁽⁵⁰⁾

The persistence of this attitude led the editorial board of Burevestnik to feel it necessary to declare in October 1908 that "attempts at combined work in Russia by anarchists of these two directions have only more clearly revealed the gulf, both principled

and practical, existing between these two different sets of tactics. The experience of five years has revealed the groundlessness of individual rebellion, divorced from the mass movement, and has still more strengthened the conviction in the representatives of workers' communist anarchism that only a mass organisation, mass propaganda and agitation, and active struggle together with the proletariat can benefit those small surviving forces of ours.".(51)

Whatever the long-term effect of such a declaration, the major tactical split between the anarcho-syndicalists and the terrorists should be seen in perspective. By 1908 syndicalism in general was enjoying great popularity in Europe and the USA, popularity that benefitted the Burevestniki and which further served to emphasise that the Russian terrorists, unlike in their homeland in 1905, were very much a minority amongst the émigrés in the West. Much of the syndicalists' attention, therefore, was concentrated on the need not just to convert trade unions into anarchist syndicates, but also to prevent the socialist parties from furthering their influence in them.

Indeed, from the beginning of 1907, the anarchist movement as a whole stepped up its propaganda campaign to blame the socialists, especially the Social Democrats, for the shortcomings of 1905. Interestingly, in their denunciations of the Social Democrats, the anarchists rarely made any distinction between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks.(52)

Despite the fact that the Bolsheviks appeared to stand closer to the anarchists on some questions, the latter were no less critical of Lenin and his wing of Russian Social Democracy. In their eyes, the Bolsheviks, with their "democratic" slogans, had gone no further in their demands than any of the other political parties and the slogan they particularly mistrusted was Lenin's "revolutionary - democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry".⁽⁵³⁾ The syndicalists in particular believed that the Bolsheviks had taken up a sharply negative position towards the trade-union movement, given their views on the nature of the political struggle within Russia, and the tactics to be followed towards that end, and they saw Lenin's What Is To Be Done as a prime example of this attitude. This early distrust was to re-emerge with much greater force in 1917.

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As 1908 set in most of the leading activists during the 1905 revolution, while continuing to suffer much mental anguish over the fate of the movement in Russia, began to settle into émigré life in the East End of London, Paris, Geneva, Zurich and New York. While the anarcho-syndicalists and the terrorists continued to publish propaganda in quantity, it is significant that by the summer of 1907 Listki "Khleb i Volia" was forced to end its run, suffering both from lack of

funds.⁽⁵⁴⁾ (i.e. expropriations, which Kropotkin disapproved of) and from lack of support both within Russia and amongst the émigrés. Whereas the Geneva and Paris anarchist terrorists had some limited success in 1907 with the smuggling of literature into Russia (usually via the Bessarabian border-town of Khotin), there is no evidence that the Khlebivoltzy had any strong links with Russia.

Kropotkin continued to stand on his previous position of peaceful and gradual propaganda, but his interests were to turn away from the wayward anarchist movement. Disillusioned somewhat, he wrote to Goldsmith that there was nothing happening in London, Paris or Geneva.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Instead, he devoted himself more and more to theoretical writing. Paradoxically, as his influence within the Russian anarchist movement waned, his popularity and fame as a revolutionary writer increased.

However, Kropotkin was actively involved in the formation of the London branch of the Anarchist Red Cross. He and his wife helped to collect money at lectures which was then sent in the form of clothing etc. to Russian political prisoners.⁽⁵⁶⁾ To the terrorists on the Continent, this was nothing less than collaboration with the bourgeoisie. The fanatics yearned for a return to Russia and, as we have noted, some of them did return, but the Okhrana usually knew of their arrival weeks in advance.⁽⁵⁷⁾ The majority, while finding it extremely hard to come to terms with life abroad, were aware of the fact that routes into Russia were

becoming more and more difficult, and so resigned themselves to their fate.

Not surprisingly, given the strength of French syndicalism, the centre for the conversion of anarchist communists to anarcho-syndicalists in 1908 was Paris. Disillusioned with the romantic ideals of Kropotkin, and disgusted with the tactics that the terrorists continued to propagate, Khlebivoltsy such as Gogeliia crossed openly to anarcho-syndicalism upon arrival in Paris. There is no doubt that Gogeliia became heavily influenced by French syndicalism, and by 1909 he was calling for the establishment of workers' unions in Russia, with a general confederation, along the lines of the CGT, to unite them.⁽⁵⁸⁾

Thus, from 1907 Russian anarchist émigrés became particularly active in Paris, and took part in the political meetings which were held almost daily in the émigré community. Often these meetings turned out to be shouting matches with the leaders of the socialist parties, and anarchists such as Rogdaev appear to have had some success in this activity.⁽⁵⁹⁾ He and Raevskii formed the nucleus of the Paris Burevestnik group, and it was from here that the journal was actually published, although the funds and much of the organisational work appear to have been the responsibility of the Geneva group.

By 1908, the movement in Russia was restricted to underground work in Ekaterinoslav and the region to its south, in the villages of Kherson gubernia close to the area to which Makhno was to return in 1917.⁽⁶⁰⁾ But heavy arrests followed in the autumn and the groups were forced underground to plan a large scale "ex" under the direction of Rogdaev's brother, Ignaty Muzil, a terrorist whom the Okhrana appear to have especially feared, following a successful expropriation of almost 80,000 roubles in Khotin, Bessarabia, in November.⁽⁶¹⁾

Elsewhere the movement was in tatters from the beginning of the year. Anarchist journals and Okhrana agents alike reported the arrests of groups in former centres such as Penza, Kiev and Bialystok.⁽⁶²⁾ Underground activity did continue throughout the year, however, particularly in Moscow, where clandestine groups had been set up early in 1907, despite fierce repressions from the authorities. These groups had links, albeit very loose ones, with anarchists in Geneva, and continued to carry out expropriations for survival.⁽⁶³⁾

While arms and literature continued arriving from the West during 1908, by now the Okhrana had set up a special branch in Khotin, and had no difficulty in apprehending the boats as they crossed the Dnester at night.⁽⁶⁴⁾ According to a report, by the autumn of 1908 the Okhrana knew of the whereabouts of the activists in all the major anarchist centres, both in Russia and in Geneva and Paris.⁽⁶⁵⁾ While it is true to say that its agents managed to infiltrate all the

revolutionary émigré groups in the West, its success amongst the anarchists by the end of 1908 was almost total. The movement appears to have been mesmerised by the Okhrana's omnipresence, with the result that anarchist groups suffered from periodic fits of mutual suspicion towards one another for years to come.⁽⁶⁶⁾

This blanket infiltration, combined with the general political situation in Russia, put the whole movement into a state of depression in 1908. Already by the end of 1907 Burevestnik had conceded temporary defeat to Stolypin and his policies. While it remained optimistic that the third Duma would collapse and signal a new revolution in Russia, it admitted that this was unlikely to happen in the near future.⁽⁶⁷⁾ And by April, 1908, Anarkhist felt forced to print an article on what it termed the "sobering" of the Russian revolution. Written by Kolosov, it was full of pessimism towards the Russian proletariat. The anarchist movement in the Russian towns had died a death, Kolosov conceded. While the movement's influence continued to hang on amongst the unemployed peasantry in areas such as Briansk and Ekaterinoslav, the Okhrana, already responsible for the almost complete destruction of the SR Maximalists, was now turning its attention towards the remaining anarchists at large in Russia.⁽⁶⁸⁾

Neither was life in emigration easy. From the summer of 1908, Russian revolutionaries of all kinds began moving to France as the Swiss police began to bear down on them. At the end of the year Buntar', now

with Erdelevskii at their head, followed, having decided to concentrate exclusively on expropriations in France.⁽⁶⁹⁾ Burevestnik too was suffering a crisis in terms of lack both of members and of material means. Further, by October 1908 the Okhrana knew the exact route that the journal would take from Geneva, via Chernovtsy, to Khotin.⁽⁷⁰⁾

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Yet despite all this, the following year, 1909, was to go down in the history of the Russian anarchists as a year of desperate acts and attempted desperate acts of terrorism, some caused by the stifling presence of the Okhrana, others no doubt instigated by its agents.

By the beginning of the year large numbers of young Russians, Poles and Letts, many of them Jews, had come to settle in London's East End, most notably Whitechapel and Stepney. The lenience of the British alien laws allowed exiles of all political creeds, some of whom preferred to exist under false identities, to settle in London. The East End allowed these political refugees to carry out their propaganda and publish their literature largely unhampered, a state of affairs that the Okhrana disliked intensely. The two largest centres, or meeting places, for émigrés were the Communist Club in Charlotte Street, and the Worker's Friend Club in Jubilee Street, Whitechapel. The latter

club, formed in 1906, probably represented the most considerable émigré Russian group in Europe at this time, and it was in part inspired by a German syndicalist, Rudolf Rocker. An extremely energetic man, Rocker had aided Kropotkin and others in the formation of the Anarchist Red Cross in 1907, and was to remain a close friend of the anarchist thinker despite later political differences. He was also responsible for the publication of the Yiddish newspapers Arbeter Fraint and Germinal, which had been smuggled into Russia since 1906.⁽⁷¹⁾

While the majority of those who frequented the Jubilee Street Club were content to carry out their propaganda work peacefully, by 1909 the place had become a haven for a small minority of anarchist terrorists. Rocker himself admitted that these young Jewish émigrés, mostly from the Baltic, were difficult to control, especially as they refused to see any difference between the political climate in England and Russia. They made it clear to Rocker that they intended to carry on in England where they had left off at home. "They had been brought up with the idea that revolutionary activity meant secrecy, conspiracy and terrorism... Our work in the trades unions was meaningless to them."⁽⁷²⁾

Two such terrorists made their mark on Tottenham, London in January 1909 when Paul Hefeld and Jacob Lepidus, both from Latvia, were involved in a two and a half hour chase from the police following a robbery

of eighty pounds. As well as one policeman being shot, because of the crowd which followed in the wake of the chase one child was killed and seventeen people were more or less seriously injured. Both terrorists were killed, Lepidus committing suicide.⁽⁷³⁾

Despite the fact that Lepidus was in fact a member of the Lettish SR party, and Hefeld, a sailor, had been no more than a courier of anarchist literature from England to Riga, the British press took out its wrath on Russian anarchism in general.⁽⁷⁴⁾ Calls were made for tightening up of immigration laws and stricter checks on revolutionary organisations in the East End. Despite this outcry, anarchist terrorists were allowed to continue to live and scheme in London throughout 1909.

Neither was London the only city that attracted men desperate for action. In Brussels a secret conference was held at the beginning of December 1908, dedicated to the resumption of expropriations in towns all over Russia, including Riga, Warsaw and Moscow. The intention was to set up a printing-press in Liège and forge links with local groups inside Russia. There were also reports of lessons given by European anarchists to their Russian comrades on elementary bomb manufacture.⁽⁷⁵⁾

Within Russia in 1909 there were isolated cases of terrorist acts carried out by underground anarchists, acts which invariably led to swift arrest. There

were several notable cases of prominent anarchists abroad returning to Russia in an attempt to set up groups with those now underground. They appear to have been motivated as much by disillusionment with the West as with a desire to return to revolutionary activity inside Russia. Vetrov, for instance, had fallen out with Kropotkin and Goldsmith in the spring of 1907 over a fundamental ideological point - the need for centralised production in the future anarchist society, (Kropotkin had insisted that man, not large-scale production, was the highest end to aim for). So, in March 1909, having lost all interest in his life in Paris, Vetrov went illegally to St. Petersburg. The Okhrana, fully aware of his arrival, had him arrested within three weeks of his arrival and he was sent off to Siberia. While continuing to communicate with anarchists such as Grossman-Roshchin and Zabrezhnev until the war, Vetrov ceased to call himself an anarchist. (76)

Another who decided to return to Russia in 1909 was Petr Arshinov. A metal-worker from Ekaterinoslav, Arshinov had spent 1905 in Turkmenistan as a Bolshevik, editing Molot from the town of Kizyl-Arvat, near the east coast of the Caspian. It was only in 1906 that he became an anarchist, a Chernoznamets in the Shoduara factory in Ekaterinoslav. He carried out several daring terrorist acts and expropriations until his arrest in March 1907. He managed to escape hanging by fleeing to France, where he lived, frustrated,

for a year and a half. Determined to return, Arshinov eventually made it to the Briansk region at the beginning of 1909. There he found what he described as "a complete lull" in one of anarchism's former centres. But there were still a few anarchists left in Briansk itself, and Arshinov managed to form a propaganda circle which used to meet in the strictest secrecy in a forest. Until 1910, that is, when a police trap led to Arshinov being sentenced to twenty years penal servitude. Sent to the Butyrki prison in Moscow in 1911, it was here that he met up with his future friend and pupil, Nestor Makhno.⁽⁷⁷⁾

Another terrorist who managed to evade the Okhrana for a while was "Kek" Kozlovskii, the expert bomb manufacturer from Odessa. He had a central hand in an abortive international conference of anarchist "technicians", held in London in February 1909. For some reason the conference, with representatives from Spain, Italy, France, England, Germany and Russia was quickly abandoned, but in the meantime Kozlovskii busied himself with taking recipes for bombs to anarchists in Odessa.⁽⁷⁸⁾

Apart from these individual anarchists deciding to return to Russia, Okhrana reports for 1909 show that there were isolated anarchist groups still at large in Kiev, where Burevestnik was still managing to send literature; Ekaterinoslav, where terrorist acts were still evading the police repressions; Riga, thanks to Latvian anarchist émigrés in London arriving with

arms and literature; and Moscow, which was still receiving literature weekly from across the Austrian border. Significantly, however, the Riga and Moscow anarchists both suffered swift and heavy arrests, making any organised propaganda work, however secretly conducted, very difficult to carry out.⁽⁷⁹⁾ By now it seems that the authorities were arresting anyone merely suspected of being an anarchist. Thus in Odessa, between August 1909 and January 1910, some 77 "anarchists" were arrested (including 20 on the arrival of Nicholas in Odessa in October). Of these only six were charged, all with possession of arms. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the anarchist movement in Russia was kept firmly underground during this period.⁽⁸⁰⁾

In the West, January 1909 saw the last issue of Buntar'. Most of the group appear to have returned either to Russia or fled to Paris. Some, like Grossman-Roshchin, had come to modify their earlier views on terrorism, and fell out with those who remained staunchly pro-terror.⁽⁸¹⁾ For Buntar' showed in its last issue that it resolutely refused to compromise on its earlier stance. Anti-syndicalist and pro-terror articles led Burevestnik, in the shape of Raevskii, once again to enter into dispute with its terrorist comrades. Raevskii termed the idea of removing all class enemies by terror as "ridiculous", and he wondered whether the remaining Chernoznamentalsy really believed in the notion. In classifying their tactical views as "no longer anarchist,

but specifically Chernoznamentsy", Raevskii reiterated that the syndicalists would have nothing to do with unorganised, individual acts of "motiveless terror".⁽⁸²⁾ But the Buntar' group, although it ceased to publish from January, remained unrepentant. It spent 1909 looking around for 200 francs to produce another copy of the journal, but without success. Life in Paris was apparently harder for the members than it had been in Geneva, and by the end of the year there were only a dozen or so active participants remaining.⁽⁸³⁾

The other terrorist journal, Anarkhist, continued to come out until March 1910. While most of the articles were of a theoretical nature, the journal, like Buntar', continued to uphold the tactic of terror. It published an article in September 1909 written by a "motiveless terrorist", and while it was at pains to point out that the editorial staff did not hold with all of the writer's views, they agreed with his defence against Raevskii's charge of "motiveless individualism".⁽⁸⁴⁾ But Anarkhist appears to have been substantially less influential in anarchist circles than Buntar', and, according to the Okhrana, German Askarov, his wife and his group lived in extreme poverty in Paris.⁽⁸⁵⁾

Amongst anarchists and their sympathisers in England Kropotkin was still acknowledged as the ideological leader of the Anarchist Club in Jubilee Street, but he played no active part in its affairs. Thus it is perhaps not surprising that when the idea arose of

resurrecting Khleb i Volia in 1908, he refused to take on its editorship. "I am old and want to finish some of my work" he wrote in March 1908.⁽⁸⁶⁾

So the task of editorship fell to Gogeliia and Goldsmith, with other articles written by Kropotkin and Raevskii. Gogeliia, as we have seen, had by this time been converted to anarcho-syndicalism, and he used the pages of Khleb i Volia, along with Raevskii, to expound on his theoretical ideas, some of which must have appeared distasteful to Kropotkin. It is clear from the tone of Gogeliia's articles that he was frustrated over the movement's apparent inability to present anarchism and anarchists in a more favourable light to "the masses". Further, he was worried by the terrorists' continued attempts to act independently in Russia. He saw their obsession with non-participation and non-organisation as the root causes for the failure of the anarchist movement after 1905.⁽⁸⁷⁾

Other articles, however, sounded a note of optimism. Raevskii, for instance, claimed to begin to see significant changes in the nature of the Russian worker, changes which reflected anarcho-syndicalist traits.⁽⁸⁸⁾ The ripeness of the Russian working class for anarchism was now increasingly to become a common theme amongst anarchist writers living in the West, just as it had been amongst the Klebiivoltsy before 1905.

Conversely, the Okhrana, by the end of 1909, appears to have been satisfied with its work of the last three years

and confident that anarchism as a political force was spent in Russia. What underground groups remained in Russia were totally lacking in organisation and discipline, riddled with criminal elements (and the Okhrana's own agents), and bereft of any significant links with the émigré groups in London and Paris. (89)

The years 1910 and 1911 represent the low point for the anarchist movement both in Russia and abroad. Not even the Okhrana could report much of any significance. By March 1910 all the four émigré journals of the previous year, Burevestnik, Buntar', Anarkhist and Khleb i Volia, had ceased publication. It would be more than a year before a new journal made an appearance in Europe.

In the West, the anarchist movement in London, following the Tottenham murders, was further shaken at the end of 1910 by what came to be known as the Houndsditch murders and the resultant siege of Sidney Street. While a certain amount of mystery still remains over the events which followed the unsuccessful robbery of a jewellery shop in Houndsditch, and while there appears to be no doubt that at least one of the perpetrators of the crimes had casual links with the movement in London, the anarchists themselves openly condemned the acts and accused the Russian government of being the real criminal. (90) Either way, the London police saw fit to undertake harsh measures against the anarchists and their club, measures which made it still more difficult for them to survive and organise. The Okhrana reported

in January 1911 that in its opinion the London anarchists were now experiencing a severe financial crisis, especially as no one in London was now prepared to let premises to them for their meetings and concerts.⁽⁹¹⁾

As for the situation inside Russia, an Okhrana report for January 1910 noted triumphantly that "anarchist literature is no longer infiltrating from abroad into the Empire". It appears that the final disintegration of the Khotin group had brought this state of affairs about.⁽⁹²⁾ The last active members of the Ekaterinoslav group had fled abroad in August 1909, leaving the main anarchist centre inside Russia bereft of propagandists. Isolated cases of terrorism continued to occur, however, and 1911 saw the most notorious of these, the assassination of Stolypin by one of the Okhrana's own provocateurs, Dmitrii Bogrov.⁽⁹³⁾ Subsequent to the murder around a hundred arrests of "anarchists" were carried out in Kiev, including Vetrov's wife.

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Towards the end of 1911, however, the sense of urgency that had briefly appeared amongst some émigrés in 1909 began to resurface, and a more positive approach to the Russian anarchist movement appeared. Some terrorists, most notably Grossman-Roshchin, admitted the folly of their tactical beliefs and threw in their lot with the "peaceful" anarchists.⁽⁹⁴⁾ Events in Russia such as those in the Lena goldfields were seen as the beginning of a new revolutionary upsurge, and from the beginning

of 1912 calls once again went out for a unification of the anarchist groups. In an interesting critique of the anarchist movement in the 1905 revolution, Goldsmith admitted that it was unlikely that the anarchist ideal would be realised in Russia "even if the next revolution is fully victorious". On the other hand she believed there was no doubt that Russia had changed fundamentally since 1905, and would change again in the near future. When this change occurred (to be brought about, Goldsmith suspected, by widely dispersed peasant uprisings or by non-party workers movements), anarchists should not repeat their past mistakes. Clashes with the socialist parties should be avoided (these, Goldsmith argued, had largely been brought about by the fact that many of the early anarchists were ex-socialists who were obsessed with engaging in such polemics); a properly worked out, theoretical programme should be presented, a programme which should exclude "motiveless" terror; and less emphasis should be placed on the basic anarchist idea of a spontaneous economic upheaval, and more on a critique of parliamentary democracy - in other words, the anarchists' passive indifference towards struggles for changes in the political system of Russia should be abandoned. (95)

In short, Goldsmith's call was an appeal to the movement for greater participation in the next revolution, so that it would not get left behind again. And it

was a call which was echoed in Zurich, where a Russian anarchist group created a new journal, Rabochii Mir, in May 1912, Kropotkin was invited to join the editorial board, but his decision not to take part further alienated him from most of the Russian anarchists in emigration. Kropotkin apparently found the set up of the journal too close to an "official organ" to have any great liking for it.⁽⁹⁶⁾ Instead, the main burden of work for the journal fell to Grossman-Roshchin, Gogeliia, Apollon Karelin and Aleksandr Ge.

Karelin was essentially an anarchist of the old style, similar to Kropotkin, although they did not agree on all matters. Born in 1863, the son of a photographer, his literary activity had begun as early as 1887, and he had his first book published in St. Petersburg in 1893. Several times exiled for revolutionary activity before 1905, he did not become an anarchist until he left for France in 1906, where he lived until 1917. From 1911, when Karelin helped to establish and edit the New York newspaper Golos Truda from Paris, his influence, as main spokesman for the Kropotkinian blend of anarchism, anarchism communism, was substantial.⁽⁹⁷⁾ As for Aleksandr Ge, within Rabochii Mir he represented the opposite extreme to Karelin. A staunch anarcho-syndicalist, he was to come more to the forefront after the outset of war in 1914, when he took a very definite anti-militarist stance.

From its beginnings the Zurich group appeared to lie closer to Karelin in its aims, which were to undertake

group meetings and discussions, organise seminars and courses on anarchism, and set up a printing press with a view to the distribution of literature.⁽⁹⁸⁾ Plans were made at the end of 1912 to start another journal, which was to be called Anarkhicheskaia Mysl', to be published in Paris by Karelin, Zabrezhnev and Gogeliia. The idea, which never bore fruit, was for each of them to contribute articles in different languages as well as Russian.⁽⁹⁹⁾

Instead, Karelin formed in Paris, with a small number of former Left SRs, a group which he called the Brotherhood of Free Communists (Bratstvo Vol'nykh Obshchinnikov). He was soon joined in this venture by Zabrezhnev and Goldsmith, and with Kropotkin's tacit approval the Brotherhood became the main centre of Russian anarchist communism in the West. It acquired a printing press which brought out a mass of anarchist literature for émigré consumption, and began to busy itself with the job of convening a conference to bring about the unification of all anarchist emigre groups.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾

By the beginning of 1913 this had begun to seem like a reasonable proposition. Russian anarchist émigré groups were known to exist in Paris, London, Zurich, Lausanne, Geneva and Liège.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ The first call for a unification congress came from the Liège group, which had its appeal published in Zurich's Rabochii Mir

in February 1913. Claiming that the reaction in Russia was beginning to weaken, it called on all anarchists to undertake widespread propaganda in Russia, this time without any arguments and with proper links. To facilitate this a federative union of all Russian anarchist groups abroad was to be set up. As for the proposed congress, the Liège group, which called itself Anarkhiia, offered to hold it in their town in May.⁽¹⁰²⁾

In fact an anarchist conference did take place in May, but in Lausanne, not Liège. Representatives from all the Swiss groups appeared, and the conference appears to have been organised by Aleksandr Ge, the leader of the Lausanne group. A five-man organising commission was set up to make plans for the convocation of a general European congress in the near future. The minutes of the conference show that there were plenty of disagreements, particularly over the question of whether any decisions made at a congress should be binding on all members. A majority of the twenty delegates were syndicalists and so condemned expropriations (which they considered should be renamed "appropriations"). One of the Zurich delegates, Litman, gave a long speech arguing that a so-called maximum programme was impractical and that syndicalism, which should have been adopted by the movement fifteen years ago, was the best means for the spreading of anarchism. Ge echoed this in his speech, emphasising his belief that anarchism could

and must exist as a mass movement.⁽¹⁰³⁾

Ominously, however, Karelin's Brotherhood in Paris would have nothing to do with the Lausanne conference or its proposed congress. In July 1913 the Brotherhood published a broadsheet which was a thinly-veiled attack on the Lausanne syndicalists. In short, the broadsheet argued that a conference had to discuss theoretical as well as practical questions; that is, the value of syndicalism to the movement had yet to be decided.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Instead, Karelin's group published its own suggestions for a congress, copies of which were sent to America, Geneva, London and other centres. Number one item on the eighteen-point agenda was to be the basic philosophy of anarchism, and several of the items suggested that the congress was to be no more than a vehicle for the development and propagation of Karelin's own brand of anarchism communism.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

What started out as a difference of opinion on ideological matters soon turned into polemical argument and accusation of the most damaging nature. In the summer of 1913 Rabochii Mir carried articles accusing the Paris Brotherhood, amongst other things, of antisemitism and the use of religious terminology in their publications. In September Karelin ran into trouble with his Paris comrades Roshchin and Gogeliia. Because Karelin insisted on taking full responsibility for the proposed congress on his shoulders, the other two issued an appeal to all the émigré groups accusing

Karelin and his deputy, Zabrezhnev, of power-lust.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾

Karelin reacted by calling his own "congress", which was held in October in a Parisian café. Outside of his own group, the only anarchist luminary he managed to attract was Rogdaev, who was then active in forming a group in Austrian Lvov.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ About thirty people attended, and speeches were heard from Zabrezhnev, Karelin and Rogdaev. The last of these condemned the demoralising nature of expropriations and called for more organisation, at least so as to unite different groups working in the same city (an obvious reference to the situation in Paris). However, the delegates could not come to agreement over the question of expropriations (there was a view that they were acceptable so long as no blood was spilt), and instead the congress spent much time formulating organisational provisions, none of which were to be binding on any member.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾

However, after a week of discussions the congress ended unexpectedly when one of the delegates, Voline, produced evidence that the Okhrana had placed a provocateur amongst them. This must have been especially disconcerting to those attending, since the Brotherhood had purposely been split up into seven small groups (and the name changed to the Federation of Anarchist Communists) specifically to lessen the dangers of provocateurs gaining access to the anarchists' plans. Matters were then brought to a head

when Karelin accused Rogdaev of being the spy in question. Not surprisingly, Rogdaev responded by calling Karelin a "scoundrel" and left. The congress ended in disarray.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾

Karelin's accusation did him no good amongst the Paris anarchists including some of his own supporters, who apparently found his manner overbearing and conceited. An opposition group, led by Rogdaev and Gogeliia, was formed, which took the Brotherhood's new name, The Federation of Anarchist Communists, as its own. Karelin and Voline were banned from joining the Federation - indeed, Karelin was asked to hand over all documents and finances relating to the Brotherhood, including the printing press and library, a demand which he refused to meet.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

Thus the calls for unity at the beginning of 1913 had ended in an open split among the Paris anarchists by the end of the year. The work of attempting to organise a general congress now fell to the groups in Switzerland and London. At the end of July 1913 Rabochii Mir had called for an international congress to be held in the autumn of 1914 to discuss practical questions for the strengthening of links between the various groups. It was announced that the London organisation had agreed to handle the staging of the congress, which the article suggested should be restricted to delegates from recognised groups and newspapers only.⁽¹¹¹⁾ Following on from this, a conference of the London anarchists took place just

before the Paris Brotherhood congress, which attracted around a hundred people, and which discussed matters relating to the convocation of the congress.⁽¹¹²⁾

These preparatory moves culminated in December 1913 with what turned out to be the nearest the Russian anarchists in emigration ever came to a unification conference. Rabochii Mir in Zurich invited representatives from London and elsewhere (Karelin's group excepted) to attend a conference in Paris to help to arrange the new international congress. Altogether, twenty-two delegates attended, including Ge, Schapiro, Goldsmith, Gogeliia, Grossman-Roshchin and Raevskii.⁽¹¹³⁾ Following the lead of the Lausanne conference, Raevskii's resolution that practical questions should be discussed first, leaving to one side theoretical disputes, was overwhelmingly accepted. Indeed, most delegates were insistent that as it was a conference, and not a congress, theoretical matters could not be debated at all.

It was the most business-like of all the conferences held by Russian anarchists in emigration. Resolutions were actually voted on. The first of these was from Ge, on the forms which anarchist groups should take. It was widely agreed that each group had to retain full autonomy within a federative set-up. But Ge was resolutely against any discussion of groups' tasks, as this was bound to lead to irreconcilable conference disputes. At the fourth session all those present declared themselves willing to enter into a Federation of Anarchist Communists. New groups wishing to join,

it was agreed, would need a recommendation from at least one of the federated groups, and a federated group could only be excluded by a congress. A three-man Secretariat was elected, which would last until the convention of a new conference or congress, and regular group subscriptions were to be paid into a special federative fund. The date for the congress was set for August 1914.⁽¹¹⁴⁾

Finally, the conference agreed to convert Rabochii Mir (of which there had been nine numbers to date) into the Federation's organ. The administration of the newspaper was to be centred in Paris. The idea was that there was to be an elected editorship with the condition that there exist attached to the newspaper an open tribune, to which anyone would be free to contribute. Consequently, the editorship was given to Gogeliia, Goldsmith and Ge.⁽¹¹⁵⁾

Published from the headquarters of Rocker's London group, Jubilee St., Rabochii Mir began to appear from February 1914. It claimed to represent the London, Liége, Zurich and Geneva groups, as well as two small Paris groups who were not connected with Karelin, and it continued to appear monthly until the summer. It is clear that attempts were made to compromise on ideological disputes within the pages of Rabochii Mir. Goldsmith, for instance, attempted to argue that Khleb i Volia in 1905 had been a syndicalist organ, while Grossman-Roshchin applauded the mood of the recent conference, and called for an equally conciliatory

approach towards theoretical differences of opinion.⁽¹¹⁶⁾

The syndicalist influence in Rabochii Mir was felt in April. In an article against "neutrality" in the trade unions, Goldsmith warned that anti-syndicalism had inevitably to lead to individualism or, still worse, state socialism. In the same issue a syndicalist resolution appeared, calling for the establishment of a legal organ both abroad and in Russia.⁽¹¹⁷⁾ However, the syndicalists did not get everything their own way in Rabochii Mir, for there also appeared an article setting out reasons why anarchists should not enter trade unions. The writer made much play of the notion of a conscious revolutionary minority leading the masses, an idea that was reminiscent of views that had been expressed in terrorist journals seven or eight years earlier. Trade unions were a creation of bourgeois society and should be treated as such. As the mass of the workers still remained outside the trade union movement, anarchists should put all their efforts into building organisations based on purely anarchist lines. The appearance of this article at this time showed that the old debates were far from dead, and were liable to flare up again at any time.⁽¹¹⁸⁾

Indeed, the unity forged by the formation of the Federation was brittle. Behind the scenes, as it were, personal dislikes, such as the rivalry between

Ge and Grossman-Roshchin, were barely contained. In a letter to a friend in Brussels, Grossman-Roshchin, while declaring that he considered Ge's writing to smack of pure syndicalism, despaired of the unpleasant atmosphere and uncomradely feeling that surrounded the Paris anarchists.⁽¹¹⁹⁾

Much of this, of course, had to do with the Karelin affair and its aftermath. At the beginning of 1914, the newly-formed Paris Federation set up a commission to investigate Karelin and Zabrezhnev and to clear the name of Rogdaev, who had returned to Austria. The establishment of the commission, to all extents and purposes, merely heightened the atmosphere of suspicion and distrust, especially as it threatened to kill anyone found guilty of working for the Okhrana.⁽¹²⁰⁾ A flurry of leaflets was published in the early months of 1914, both sides attempting to establish Karelin's innocence or guilt. His opponents, who were probably in a minority in absolute terms, accused him of having stifled comrades' work, dictatorial behaviour, struggling for "power", and Nechaevism. His supporters considered these charges to be ludicrous and beneath contempt, guaranteed only to bring disorganisation into the Paris groups.⁽¹²¹⁾

Karelin himself refused to enter into the bickering, even when in March a lecture he was giving in Paris workers' club was disrupted by Rogdaev and his supporters, demanding that he produce evidence for his allegations against Rogdaev.⁽¹²²⁾ Instead, he

resumed his writing activities and public speaking, renamed his group as simply the Free Communists (Vol'nye Obshchinniki), and in May announced that he intended sending a delegate to the London congress. A single number of the group's journal, Vol'naia Obshchina, appeared some time in the early summer of 1914. It contained little of interest in the way of disagreements within the movement, being more a mouthpiece of Karelin's own philosophy. The only reference to the split demanded that all anarchists who were stirring up discontent in the ranks of the movement should be "thrown out", although it was not made clear how this was to be executed.⁽¹²³⁾

Rogdaev, however, was not satisfied, even after he had been found innocent by the investigating commission. In June he gave a speech to Paris anarchists where he claimed that spies still existed within the movement (which was clearly true, as the meeting was reported by an Okhrana agent), and accused Karelin of being an Okhrana informant. In fact, neither Karelin nor Rogdaev worked for the Okhrana, but the constant accusations and counter-accusations continued to abound throughout the summer of 1914.⁽¹²⁴⁾

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Outside of Paris, the movement enjoyed more internal cohesion by 1914. In New York, the anarchist-dominated Union of Russian Workers of the United States and Canada had, via its organ Golos Truda, built up a

strong membership since its formation in 1911. Karelin was on the editorial board, and regular contributors to its columns from Europe included Rogdaev, Goldsmith, Gogeliia and Zabrezhnev. In July 1914 the Russian anarchists in the USA held their own congress in Detroit where it was decided that a more openly pro-syndicalist stance should be taken. For this reason in August Raevskii was invited to New York to be the new editor of Golos Truda.⁽¹²⁵⁾

The most promising developments for the anarchists, however, had occurred inside Russia. Reports of a resurgence of anarchism in Russia had been filtering through since 1912. As early as September 1911 a long Okhrana report appeared on the dangers of the spread of syndicalism in St. Petersburg. There was evidence, the report suggested, of such a spread amongst tramway workers, tailors and watchmakers in the city.⁽¹²⁶⁾ Further, in 1911 a group of Moscow students had managed to form a propaganda circle centred around a library of anarchist literature, most of which had been bought in Moscow bookshops, a hangover from the days of "legal" publishing after 1905.⁽¹²⁷⁾

This resurgence was partly due to the reappearance of anarchists who had ended their prison sentences or period in exile (Vetrov was one such example), and partly to the strengthening of groups that had never been fully suppressed, such as the Moscow anarchists. By 1913, the Moscow group had established links with Rabochii Mir and Golos Truda, and, under the influence

of their pages, rejected terrorism and came out in favour of anarcho-syndicalism. In the spring of 1914 one of the group's proclamations was printed in Golos Truda, and it was clear by this time that the Moscow anarchists had managed to link up with small groups in nearby Briansk, Orel, Tula and Kineshma.⁽¹²⁸⁾

The Okhrana began to show increased concern at this re-emergence in 1913. A long list of "potentially dangerous" anarchists and SR Maximalists living both abroad and inside Russia was produced, 200 copies of which were distributed to various border points and trouble areas.⁽¹²⁹⁾ Further alarm was shown in 1914 when it became clear that a group in St. Petersburg, despite repressions in 1912 and 1913, had managed to bring out a hectographed monthly, Anarkhist, the main interest of which appeared to be to criticise socialist participation in the Duma. Special concern was warranted here because the group in question was avowedly pro-terrorist.⁽¹³⁰⁾

So, despite the tense atmosphere amongst the Paris anarchists, the movement as a whole could be said to be on the upswing by the middle of 1914. In June, Ge published a proposal to hold two congresses, one international and one Russian, in the autumn, and suggested agendas which purposely avoided any questions of a philosophical nature. The congress, when it was convened in August, was to be business-like, concerned only with questions of organisation and propaganda activity. As Ge sardonically put it, "let us a priori

assume that a participant of an anarchist congress is an anarchist".⁽¹³¹⁾ In London two weeks later Rocker and Schapiro were elected to be the English delegates to the congress, which was to be held at the end of August in the Devonshire Hall, Hackney. Other delegates were expected from Belgium, Switzerland, Spain, Austria, Bohemia, Scotland and the USA. Even the timetable of the proposed agenda had been worked out by the organising commission.⁽¹³²⁾

But, however good the intentions might have been, time and circumstance were not on the side of the anarchists. The outbreak of war in August put an end to the plans, and no further attempts to convene a congress were made until after February 1917. Indeed, the whole European anarchist movement was to suffer its most serious open split as a result of the war.

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Up to 1914 internationalism and its corollary, anti-militarism, was one of the central tenets of anarchist ideology. Indeed, against other revolutionary parties anarchists had traditionally boasted that they were the only true anti-militarists, as all other socialist parties talked about, at the least, the substitution of a standing army by some form of "popular militia". The Russian anarchists from their very beginnings had strongly advocated the spread of anti-militarist propaganda, especially amongst the armed forces.⁽¹³³⁾ Resolutions to this end were carried unanimously at both

the Amsterdam Congress and the conference held in Paris in December, 1913, and anti-militarism was to be one of the central planks of the abandoned London congress.⁽¹³⁴⁾

Given the apparent unanimity of anarchists on this point, it may appear surprising, at the very least, that Kropotkin and some of his supporters in fact came out in favour of the war against Germany. It cannot, however, have been too much of a surprise for those anarchists who had already sounded out his views on war.⁽¹³⁵⁾ Kropotkin had long considered that in the case of a conflict between France and Germany exception had to be made, since France represented freedom as against semi-absolutist Germany. From 1905 he began to predict the imminence of such a war, and he urged his comrades in France not to oppose military service for this reason. For Kropotkin, Germany had come to represent the most oppressive form of state authority (as it had done for Bakunin), while it appears that he had acquired a fondness for France and its political freedom since his emigration to the West. At the London conference in October 1906 Kropotkin passionately declared the German Russians to be responsible for the autocracy in Russia, and even went so far as to declare that if a war between Russia and Germany were to start, "then I would take up my shoulder-rifle and go and shoot the Germans."⁽¹³⁶⁾

Kropotkin was obviously aware that he had assumed a position which few anarchists would find acceptable,

especially after the Amsterdam Congress (which he had not attended due to illness). So he spent a good deal of time expounding on his reasons, time which included writing letters to various newspapers. In the first of his letters to the Russian Russkie Vedomosti in September 1914 he appealed to all those who valued European civilisation to help Europe rid itself of "German militarism and German aggressive imperialism".⁽¹³⁷⁾ Despite this, however, he convinced only a handful of his closest followers of the correctness of his stance on the war. The only Russian anarchists of note to support his position were Cherkezov and Goldsmith, although even Goldsmith found it difficult to come to terms with Kropotkin's stance.⁽¹³⁸⁾ Otherwise, Kropotkin relied on support from European anarchists, and in 1916 a so-called Manifesto of the Sixteen was signed, in which Kropotkin's "defencist" position was laid out once and for all.

The signatories were dubbed "anarcho-patriots" by the great majority of anarchists who insisted on an immediate end to the war.⁽¹³⁹⁾ As well as such well-known figures as Malatesta, Emma Goldman and Sebastian Faure, almost the whole of the Russian anarchist movement in emigration took up an opposite viewpoint to Kropotkin. In London itself, both Rocker and Schapiro fell out with him on the issue, the former believing that Kropotkin's present position "is in total contradiction to everything that he has taught before."⁽¹⁴⁰⁾

Meetings were held at the end of 1914 and beginning of 1915 to try to paste together the split, but without success. The refusal of most Russian anarchists to take up a "minimalist" position with regard to the war was echoed in Nabat, a journal which was set up in Geneva after the start of the war by Rogdaev, Gogeliia and Grossman-Roshchin. The whole purpose of the journal was to spread anti-militarist propaganda, and appeals went out to workers and soldiers to cease the fratricide that the world bourgeoisie had unleashed.⁽¹⁴¹⁾ In America, Golos Truda also took up an anti-war stance, and though it allowed Goldsmith space to defend Kropotkin's viewpoint, the journal's editorial board considered the propagation of anti-statism and anti-militarism to be its duty at all times.⁽¹⁴²⁾ Elsewhere, one of the harshest critics amongst the anarchists of Kropotkin's pro-war stance was Aleksandr Ge. Just before the onset of February 1917 he published in Lausanne a work that was almost exclusively devoted to a critique of Kropotkin and his followers, particularly Goldsmith, whom he dubbed as the Joan of Arc of the Third Republic.⁽¹⁴³⁾

This split over the war issue did the Russian anarchist movement no good. Despite the fact that the overwhelming majority remained true to one of the basic tenets of the ideology, the fact that Kropotkin and his dwindling numbers of supporters adopted a pro-war stance was exploited both by the governments of the

countries of the Entente, and by rival revolutionary émigré groups, thus dealing a severe blow to its prestige within the radical left as a whole. Lenin and his comrades, for instance, accused the anarchists of opportunism and chauvinism in their support of the war (despite the fact that only around a hundred anarchists signed the various pro-war declarations), and claimed that Kropotkin's "conversion" to "social-chauvinism" was an inevitability for a revolutionary not connected with the working class.⁽¹⁴⁴⁾

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It only remains for us to look at the state of the underground anarchists in Russia on the eve of February 1917. The war dealt a blow to the links that had been forged between groups and the West. Indeed, given the unpopularity of the anti-war stance taken by most anarchists, the emigre movement suffered a slump which brought Rabochii Mir to a swift end, and which prevented Nabat from appearing regularly.⁽¹⁴⁵⁾

Yet despite this, anarchist groups in Russia appeared to have gained themselves a stronger foothold as a result of the war. The Okhrana reported in October 1914 the arrest of participants at a general meeting of exiled anarchists in Irkutsk.⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ News also filtered through of a group of anarchists in Samara who intended holding a conference in Orenburg. The idea was to forge links with other groups in the area,

and though the conference appears to have been still-born, the evidence of such plans suggests the presence of anarchists in one of their future strongholds as early as December 1914. (147)

In Petrograd, illegal proclamations from the anarchist group there continued to appear intermittently throughout 1915 and 1916. Workers at the Putilov works, for instance, were treated to an anarchist leaflet in November 1914, protesting against the presence of the socialists in the Duma, and the tone suggested that it was the work of old anarchist terrorists, now calling themselves anarchist communists. This group, however, appears to have been arrested at the end of 1915. (148)

Meanwhile the Moscow group, which took a pro-syndicalist stance, began to publish its own proclamations, first via the Moscow Union of Consumers' Societies (of which all the group were members), and then from a rotary press which they shared with the Bolsheviks of the Zamoskvoretskii raion. This uneasy alliance produced several proclamations, numbering several thousand copies each, during 1915 and 1916. The anarchists' distributive apparatus was said to be particularly efficient, and they were aided in this task in 1916 by another smaller group set up amongst Moscow tanners, who in turn printed their own propaganda leaflets. In fact, the Moscow group also suffered from confusion over Kropotkin's pro-war stance. His decision to support the war led to a group of his supporters splitting away from the anarcho-syndicalists, and

forming links with the terrorist wing of the SRs. (149)

Thus the division of the anarchist movement into anarcho-syndicalists and anarchist communists had already effectively taken place in Moscow before the 1917 revolution. And it was the anarchist communists who had emerged as the dominant force in the city by 1916. The group of tanners, who were opposed to syndicalism, were joined by groups formed amongst Moscow railway workers and printers. The railway workers were led by Kazimir Kovalevich, a terrorist, later to take central role in the bombing of the Moscow Bolsheviks' party HQ in 1919. (150) All of these anarchist groups in Moscow benefitted both from outside help (Karelin established links in 1916) and from the return from prison and exile of such old anarchists as Novomirskii and Vladimir Barmash. (151)

So by February 1917 there were established groups of anarchists in Russia, most notably in the two capital cities. Unlike 1905, these groups would be able to come into the open immediately following the collapse of the autocracy. Despite the arrests and repressions, anarchists had managed to survive the war years and even carry out their surreptitious propaganda activity. Separate anarchist groups set themselves up in opposition to the Bolsheviks at several Petrograd factories prior to 1917, particularly in the Metallicheskie, the Trubochnyi and the Putilov works. (152) It is notable

that these factories were all engaged in production for defence, and so had seen an influx of elements from the countryside and the unemployed. Favourable soil for the growth of anarchism in the capitals had been created in this way, a growth that further benefitted from the swift collapse of the Russian economy, the collapse of the homefront and widespread desertion from the ranks of the tsarist army.

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Briefly reviewing the period 1907-1917 for the Russian anarchist movement, several concluding remarks can be made. Firstly, the issue of terrorism had not been fully resolved, as was particularly evident from the re-emergence of terrorist groups in Moscow and Petrograd after 1914. Secondly, in the West anarcho-syndicalism had gained much ground amongst the émigrés. By 1917, particularly following Kropotkin's war stance, the majority were at the least not anti-syndicalists. Yet within Russia it had as yet made little headway. Here a distinct anti-syndicalist mood continued to prevail, and although the emphasis on terror had been toned down, the ideology that nearly all the underground groups followed, anarchist communism, was a mixture of Khleb i Volia's romanticism with the past and Beznachalie's crude sloganeering for destruction of the bourgeoisie and its instrument of oppression, the state. Thus there were significant differences of opinion, at least on the tactical level, between

those "Russian" anarchists and the émigrés, who had enjoyed the liberalising influence of Paris, Geneva and London and who had avoided exile or imprisonment in tsarist Russia. These differences, as we shall see, were to plague the anarchist movement in 1917 and 1918, in the same way that ideological arguments had dogged the movement since 1905.

Thirdly, and by no means least damaging to the movement's attempts to unite, by 1917 the anarchists had effectively parted company with Kropotkin. His attitude in general had not helped the regeneration of the Russian anarchist movement after 1907, and the position he took up in 1914 was unforgivable to many of his former comrades. Finally, the movement was dogged constantly in its efforts to organise itself by the omnipresent Okhrana, which exploited the anarchists' informal codes of behaviour and fluid membership to the full.

These factors together were to serve to outweigh the favourable situation for the growth of anarchism development in Russia from 1912, and particularly 1914. By 1917 it was clear that the experience of the years in emigration and underground had failed to rectify the anarchist movement's inability to organise effectively for the forthcoming revolution.

CHAPTER V

THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT IN THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION,

FEBRUARY - OCTOBER 1917:

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This chapter traces the role and influence of the anarchist movement in the period between the two revolutions in Russia in 1917. By this, an attempt is made to show that throughout this time the anarchists had an influence on events far in excess of their numerical strength. This influence manifested itself particularly during the events leading up to the July demonstrations in the country's capital, Petrograd, and a substantial section of this chapter looks in detail at the anarchists' involvement in those events.

However, it is also argued that had it not been for the anarchists' chronic organisational shortcomings, combined with the continuing internal disputes over the tactics to be employed in a revolution, their influence might have been substantially greater. In addition, both this chapter and the following one examine the interrelationships between the anarchists and the Bolsheviks in the 1917 revolution, here concentrating particularly on the apparent similarity of aims that the two doctrines espoused before October. Finally, there follows an assessment of the views and influence of the emergent anarcho-syndicalist groups, both in their relation to the Bolsheviks and in their disagreements with the anarchist communists.

The 1917 revolution came as unexpectedly for the anarchists in emigration as for all the other revolutionary parties. Further, there is no evidence of any anarchist groups in Russia having played any part in the events which sparked off the February revolution. But as soon as news of the events reached the émigrés in the West, a new tone of optimism was immediately apparent. In New York, for instance, the Golos Truda group, whose newspaper by the beginning of 1917 had acquired for itself a large readership and an influential voice amongst the thousands of Russian émigrés, immediately welcomed the dissolution of the Duma as a long-awaited event which left no doubt that Russia was headed on a revolutionary course. "The Second Russian Revolution", it proclaimed, "has started under conditions most favourable for the achievement of the final ends of the class-conscious movement of the proletariat".⁽¹⁾ Further, it announced that it was setting up an appeal for two thousand dollars to start a paper, along the same lines as Golos Truda, in Russia, and to send forces there "to take part in ideological, agitational and organisational work".⁽²⁾

Unlike their predecessors in 1905, the anarchist émigrés were not slow to see the need for such an organ in Russia, especially once freedom of the press had been established. They were fully aware that if they were to have their voice heard they would need a daily newspaper encompassing the whole movement. As for its stance on the situation in Russia, Golos Truda,

representing the internationalists in the movement, called for an immediate conversion of the "imperialist" war to a "revolutionary" war. This was in reply to those who claimed that a continuation of the revolution in Russia could only lead to a German victory, especially if the war effort was not maintained.

Golos Truda refused to entertain seriously the formula of "victory first, then revolution". In this respect it was in accord with Lenin.⁽³⁾

Be that as it may, as early as April 1917 Golos Truda began to talk about three revolutions in Russia. The first, the struggle against the autocracy, had already been completed. The second, the struggle between the Provisional Government and the soviets, was already underway, and would end, Golos Truda was sure, in victory for the latter. But then would begin the third revolution, between the soviets, which were seen as the personification of the socialist idea, and "living forces ... the direct, spontaneous and independent acts of local workers' and peasants' organisations, moving towards a direct expropriation of the land and all the means of consumption, production and distribution". It would be, then, a struggle between independent decision-making on the one hand, and centralised social-democratic power on the other, between anarchism and Marxism. "We have no doubt" Golos Truda declared, "that this struggle will end with victory of the anarchist idea."⁽⁴⁾ In this way the future battle-lines between the anarchists and the Bolsheviks were drawn already by April 1917.

Putting these insights into the future to one side, anarchists such as Voline, who by 1917 had begun to write regularly for Golos Truda, showed themselves to be concerned early on after the February revolution with organisational matters. An ex-SR who was converted to anarchism by Karelin in 1911, (and then did not appear to adopt a syndicalist position until 1915, when he escaped internment in France by fleeing to New York), Voline was one of the Golos Truda anarchists most insistent that the movement understand what its ideology meant in practice. As Voline put it, far from all anarchists knew that the expression "with their own hands", used in connection with the workers' seizure of the means of production, meant organising mass, non-party, pure-worker, trade unions, combined and united via soviets of these organisations. To attempt to rectify this, Voline wrote a number of articles explaining the anarcho-syndicalist position on the formation of workers' organisations, where he made it quite clear that all anarchists had to support the creation of trade unions and soviets in Russia, so long as they were established along non-party, decentralised lines.⁽⁵⁾

This stress on the willingness of anarchists to organise was echoed by the Russian anarchists in Western Europe after February. In May the Geneva and Zurich groups, under the auspices of Grossman-Roshchin and Gogeliia, combined to produce Put' k Svobode, the single number of which concentrated its articles on the anti-militarist stance taken by the majority of anarchists,

and on welcoming the new revolution in Russia. As far as the latter was concerned, Gogeliia warned against allowing the revolution to subside into a democracy, or some form of revolutionary government. To avoid this, anarchists had to be prepared to form groups and enter the workers' organisations to spread the word of anarchism.⁽⁶⁾ Nikolai Dolenko, an anarchist who had contributed articles to Golos Truda over the years, further warned against the danger of counter-revolution if the workers were not properly organised, and if the newly-formed soviets did not retain what Dolenko considered to be their original objective - economic revolution.⁽⁷⁾

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So it seems clear that the émigrés, though taken by surprise by the events, were quick to respond to their significance, and groups in all the major centres busied themselves in the spring of 1917 with making plans for a speedy return to the homeland. Yet, (given the speed at which events were moving in Russia in the early months of 1917), the anarchists underground were slow to react to the need to establish their newspapers and propaganda machinery. Instead, until the summer groups contented themselves largely with taking part in mass demonstrations with their own black banners. The Moscow anarchist groups, of which there were now seven, numbering around eighty members, came out from the underground and united in March to form the Moscow Federation of Anarchist Groups. According to one source,

about one half of the members (including Barmash and Novomirskii) were anarchists during the previous revolutionary years. Anarchist groups, all very small, also appeared quickly in the surrounding area of Moscow, in Kineshma, Bezhetsk, Orel and Tula.⁽⁸⁾ At this time in Moscow, as elsewhere, the anarchist communists remained in the majority within the movement. This was mainly because most of the anarchists exiled to Siberia and imprisoned after 1906 had not been exposed to the anarcho-syndicalist variety of the ideology, which now held the ascendancy in the West.

Like many of the émigrés, some of the anarchist exiles, upon being liberated by the Provisional Government, immediately headed for the old centres of anarchist strength, Moscow and the south.⁽⁹⁾ In the first months of the revolution, however, neither of these regions could claim to be the most influential centre of Russian anarchism. Unlike in 1905, initially the anarchists were strongest in the country's capital, Petrograd.

It has been estimated that there were around a hundred anarchists of all kinds in Petrograd in February,⁽¹⁰⁾ and they were soon joined by exiles, many of whom chose to head towards the revolutionary centre. Anarchist groups, federations and organisations seemed to fall away as quickly as they were formed, and it is almost impossible to make an accurate account of this process. By May, however, the anarchist communists had managed to produce a journal, Kommuna, which read much like the earlier terrorist journals of the 1905

period. Their propaganda was simple and to the point - the immediate overthrow of the Provisional Government by an armed insurrection, and mass expropriation by the workers of the means of production. Throughout April and May they agitated to this end, sometimes via smallscale armed demonstrations,⁽¹¹⁾ and by early June, thanks to the worsening economic climate and the setbacks on the war front, their slogans had received widespread distribution, particularly amongst the sailors in Kronstadt and Shlisselburg (many of whom were peasants), and amongst workers in factories in the Vyborg district of the city.⁽¹²⁾ The general mood amongst sections of the armed forces and the workers in Petrograd at this time proved fertile ground for the anarchists.

Although the tactics of terrorist "direct action" had been toned down a little since the groups of 1905, nevertheless expropriations remained in vogue amongst the anarchist communists in Petrograd, and widespread seizure of buildings, weapons and provisions took place in the spring. This task was no doubt made easier for them because of a significant anarchist presence in the workers' militia which were set up after February. The Soviet of the Petrograd Peoples Militia, which was formed on June 3, 1917 was chaired in its early days by F. P. Neliubin, a man known to have sympathies with the anarchists, and he and others vied with the Bolsheviki to spread their influence amongst the workers' militia. Anarchist clubs were set up in

"comissariats" of workers' militia, houses seized in the Vasileostrov and Vyborg districts of Petrograd. The Soviet had its headquarters in a sumptuous dacha that had been expropriated by a group of anarchists shortly after February, a dacha in the Vyborg raion which had previously belonged to Durnovo, the former Minister of the Interior.⁽¹³⁾

The Durnovo dacha was not just used as the headquarters of the workers' militia. The building was large enough to accommodate several political and trade-union groups, including the Petrograd Federation of Anarchist Communists, which was created at the beginning of June by a well-known Kronstadt anarchist, I. S. Bleikhman. He was the leader of the anarchist faction in the Kronstadt Soviet, and had considerable influence amongst the sailors on the island.⁽¹⁴⁾ The Petrograd Federation, which was the result of the amalgamation of several small anarchist communist groups, was responsible for the publication of Kommuna and so propagated the immediate destruction of all forms of power and authority and the establishment of work communes. The Federation's minimum demand was for the total overthrow of the Provisional Government by any means available in the shortest possible time.

The minority anarcho-syndicalist viewpoint in Petrograd was less extreme. Although their voice carried less weight than that of their comrades, the anarcho-syndicalists in Kronstadt began to build up a following in the spring of 1917, largely thanks to the oratorical skills of Efim Iarchuk, an anarchist who had been a

member of the original Bialystok group in 1903. Influential in Zhitomir in the 1905 revolution, Iarchuk had escaped exile and operated illegally inside Russia until 1913, when emigration to the United States converted him, via Golos Truda, to anarcho-syndicalism. One of the first émigrés to return in 1917, he became a member of the Kronstadt Soviet Ispolkom, a post which gave him the opportunity to put up an alternative anarchist ideology to the one propagated by Bleikhman.⁽¹⁵⁾ Iarchuk argued that the favourable conditions created by the establishment of the Provisional Government had to be made use of to "organise" anarchy, and not to allow what power remained to strengthen itself. Significantly, Iarchuk and his supporters also tacitly agreed to work with the Bolsheviks, and came out against the expropriations of the anarchist communists, particularly that of the Durnovo villa.⁽¹⁶⁾

Disapproval from within the movement appears to have been of little concern to the expropriators, some fifty of whom, led by Bleikhman, on June 5 took over by force the offices of the right-wing newspaper, Ruskaia Volia. Once installed, the anarchists used the premises to print declarations to the Petrograd workers, one of which explained, "We have decided to give back to the people their belongings and so are confiscating the Ruskaia Volia printing-press for the needs of socialism, anarchy and revolution."⁽¹⁷⁾

Failure to win over the print-workers to the idea of a printing-press run on cooperative lines, combined

with appeals from a delegation from the Petrograd Soviet, persuaded the anarchists to abandon the offices late that evening, on the condition of guaranteed personal immunity.⁽¹⁸⁾

The taking of the newspaper's offices was relatively speaking a trifle, but the Provisional Government, no doubt furious at the successful intervention of the Soviet after police had failed to dislodge the anarchists, decided to use the act as an excuse for clamping down on the Durnovo dacha residents. As mentioned before, the dacha housed not just Bleikhman's Federation - there were local trade union delegates and SR Maximalists also well entrenched in the building - so that two days later, when the Minister of Justice, P. Pereverzev, handed out the order to clear out the anarchists, a wave of indignation and protest followed. Workers at four establishments in the Vyborg district went out on strike, followed by those at a further twenty-eight the following day. Such was the support that the anarchists had begun to command that the Provisional Government was forced to back down on its threat, despite the fact that the Congress of Soviets voted a resolution condemning the raid and the strikes as sabotage against the revolution.⁽¹⁹⁾

At this stage it was not only the Provisional Government which felt its authority threatened. Bolshevik activists in the city began to note an increasingly uncontrollable mood amongst the workers and armed forces. A demonstration planned by the Bolsheviks for June 10 was forbidden by the Petrograd

Soviet, the authority of which the Bolshevik leadership decided to yield to. The Durnovo anarchists, however, were determined that the demonstration should take place, and to that end they had called a conference on June 9, attended by representatives from ninety-five factories and military units. A Provisional Revolutionary Committee was set up, which included some Bolsheviks, to plan ways of using the demonstration to spark off widespread expropriations and so usher in the revolution.⁽²⁰⁾

The night of June 9/10 was an eventful period for the Petrograd Bolsheviks. Having decided to postpone the demonstration, the Central Committee heard a report from M. Latsis on the mood amongst workers on the Vyborg side, where widespread calls for an armed insurrection had been received sympathetically in some quarters.⁽²¹⁾ This mood was confirmed on the 10th when Bolshevik agitators had to be sent to factories and military units to calm things down. Their job was made particularly difficult in Kronstadt's Anchor Square, where a crowd of many thousands of sailors witnessed a clash between Iarchuk, who supported the Bolsheviks' decision to submit to the will of the Congress of Soviets, and a delegation of Durnovo anarchists led by Bleikhman. The sailors were distinctly volatile, and the situation was only saved from getting out of hand by the Bolshevik Flerovskii, who suggested the sending of a two hundred man delegation to Petrograd to assess the mood in the capital.⁽²²⁾

Having averted the prospect of an armed demonstration, the Bolsheviks still had the problem of the Provisional Revolutionary Committee to deal with. After the 10th those Bolsheviks who had been sent to the Durnovo dacha were ordered by their Central Committee not to attend further sessions. Instead, they were to agitate for a demonstration called by the Petrograd Soviet for June 18, marching under the banner of "All Power to the Soviets". The leaders in the Soviet had come to agree that the danger of a spontaneous demonstration against the Provisional Government was now so great that an official, peaceful one had to be called.

The anarchists, however, continued to try to exploit the state of tension in the city. The Provisional Revolutionary Committee, at a meeting on the 12th, attended by 150 delegates, called for a demonstration on June 14.⁽²³⁾ The call was condemned by the Bolsheviks, who feared that they would be unable to control it. At an extraordinary session of the Petrograd Bolshevik Committee on June 13 there was disagreement over the degree of the measures needed to combat the anarchists. Some, such as Tomskii and Sakharov, were confident that a single call in Pravda would be enough to put a stop to the proposed demonstration. They held a minority view, however. A majority accepted that it was essential to carry out an ideological battle against the anarchists at the work place, and particularly amongst the military units. It was pointed out that some of these latter

(notably the Pavlovskii, Finliandskii and the 108th regiments) were in serious danger of coming under anarchist influence as represented by the Provisional Revolutionary Committee. Consequently, Bolshevik agitators were despatched to all the barracks to explain the need to ignore anarchist calls for an armed demonstration.⁽²⁴⁾

The following day, June 14, Pravda carried an article signed by Stalin on behalf of the Central Committee warning that the party considered demonstrations of isolated regions and regiments led by anarchists who had no understanding of the present situation to be ruinous for the workers' revolution.⁽²⁵⁾ Yet it is likely that the reason that the anarchists failed to get workers or soldiers onto the street on either June 10 or 14 (the Provisional Revolutionary Committee also ended in failure), was due as much as anything to the organisational shambles that the anarchists found themselves in throughout 1917. Indeed, the anarchists' agitation continued to remain a thorn in the side of the Bolsheviks. As one Western historian put it, "the care and seriousness with which the problem was approached" suggests that the Bolsheviks were aware that the anarchists "could not be treated lightly".⁽²⁶⁾ Though the calls to demonstrate had not been answered, the anarchists had made many converts, particularly amongst the soldiers based in Petrograd.

Typically, however, on the eve of the demonstration of June 18, there was disagreement amongst the anarchists as to whether to boycott it or not. While a minority

declared that they would take no part, the Durnovo anarchists mingled with marchers from the Vyborg side, carrying their traditional black banners with inscriptions such as "Death to Tyranny" on them. Ominously, they were the only demonstrators to carry arms, and their action in the afternoon was the only violent incident in an otherwise peaceful demonstration. A crowd of around two thousand, led by the anarchists, broke away from the marchers and made for the Kresty prison in the Vyborg district, where they obtained the release (amongst others) of a Bolshevik army officer, F. P. Khaustov, who was being held as a political prisoner. (27)

This act caused the Provisional Government to carry out swift retribution. The following night Pereverzev, General Polovtsev, hundreds of Cossacks, a battalion of foot soldiers and an armoured car all descended on the Durnovo dacha. After the anarchists inside had refused to hand over the escaped prisoners, a full-scale battle ensued: doors were broken down, the windows smashed in, and the furniture broken up. The result was fifty-nine arrests and the first martyr to the anarchists' cause in the 1917 revolution, an anarchist called Asin, who had already made a name for himself in Kronstadt's Anchor Square. (28)

The following morning, June 19, crowds gathered in the garden and on the river-bank around the dacha. Representatives from factories nearby went to the Soviet Ispolkom to register their displeasure at the Provisional Government's reaction and demanded the

release of all those not guilty of criminal offences. Once again, strikes broke out as a protest against the treatment of the anarchists.⁽²⁹⁾ And once again the Bolshevik leaders found themselves having to work hard to prevent the situation from getting out of control. It was reported that in the Shlisselburg gunpowder works, where the anarchist Iustin Zhuk enjoyed a degree of influence, "the position is dangerous". Latsis was afraid that workers of the Lessner and Reno factories would strike on the 21st, while representatives from the Rozenkrants factory were sounding out the mood of the soldiers for an armed uprising. Latsis warned that the Bolsheviks should prepare themselves a plan of action in case this occurred.⁽³⁰⁾

The situation in the capital continued to intensify into the beginning of July. Thanks to the findings of the Soviet's investigative committee, those who had had nothing to do with the Kresty incident were released. But the breeding-ground of revolt now swung away from the Durnovo dacha and centred more on the barracks of the 1st Machine-gun Regiment. Already considered one of the most revolutionary military units in Petrograd, the regiment had clashed with the Provisional Government over its loan of a machine-gun to the anarchists that had raided the Russkaia Volia offices. Soviet historians now admit that the local Bolshevik organisation, which had been set up in April, was "insufficiently tight", showing a predilection for "adventurism" and allowing Bleikhman

to propagate his views within the regiment.⁽³¹⁾ Bleikhman's fiery speeches played on the soldiers' dissatisfaction with the Provisional Government, a mood that was heightened with the attempt to remove two thirds of the regiment to the front, and the news of the failure of the offensive which reached Petrograd on July 2. The fact that the Durnovo dacha was situated not far from the barracks further enabled anarchists such as Bleikhman to enjoy significant influence in the machine-gun regiment. Their regular appearances created, as one Bolshevik later put it, "constant political competition for the Bolsheviks", and "their irresponsible speeches against state power in general ... were all that a mass of the soldiers wanted to hear. In their class hatred they simply did not wish to listen to anything more moderate."⁽³²⁾

* * * * *

The news of the defeat of the Russian Army at the front sparked the anarchists into action once again. While the July Days were not an anarchist creation, their agitators were responsible for goading soldiers and workers onto the streets. On July 2 the Petrograd Federation leaders, Bleikhman, P. Kolobushkin (Golubushkin), P. Pavlov, and D. Nazumov, arranged a secret meeting at the Durnovo dacha. The participants decided to agitate the following day for an armed uprising and the overthrow of the Provisional Government. Their hopes lay principally on the 1st Machine-gun regiment.⁽³³⁾

On July 3 anarchist speakers attended a three thousand strong mass meeting of the regiment. Following the election of I. Golovin, (non-party, but known to be sympathetic to the anarchists) as chairman of the meeting, Bleikhman was soon given the floor. As planned, he called for an immediate armed demonstration against the Provisional Government. He was backed up in this by Kolobushkin, who declared to the meeting that the Putilov workers were armed, and were ready and waiting for the call from the soldiers to act. Bolshevik calls for, at the very least, a delay of the demonstration were shouted down, and the regiment unanimously agreed to demonstrate that day, and to get other military units and factories to join them.⁽³⁴⁾

Amongst those who were persuaded was the soviet of the workers' militia, which, by the end of June, following the shooting of Asin, had moved premises. On July 3 it began its third conference, but Bolshevik proposals were shelved in the afternoon when news of the demonstration arrived. A committee was created, headed by Zhuk and Neliubin (who was still the soviet's chairman), to allow the workers' militia to play an active part in the organisation of the demonstrations.⁽³⁵⁾

Despite the fact that some twenty-three Bolshevik agitators were sent to the machine-gunners' barracks on July 3, the soldiers would not be placated. The anarchists had less success, however, in Kronstadt, where, by this time, relations between Iarchuk and Bleikhman were at a low point. The anarcho-syndicalists were in agreement with the Bolsheviks that the demon-

stration was premature and should be neutralised by making it peaceful. Together they managed to control the mood of the sailors in Anchor Square. This was followed by the Bolshevik leaders' last minute decision to take part in the demonstration, so as to keep it under control, and to march under the slogan "All Power To The Soviets".⁽³⁶⁾

The two days of rioting that followed marked a definite turning point in the development of the revolution. The anarchist calls for an immediate armed uprising led to repressions of workers' organisations such as the militia, and even raion soviets, as well as various Bolshevik and anarchist cells.⁽³⁷⁾ On July 6 the Durnovo villa was once again taken, with little resistance. Though the anarchists could not be said to have been directly responsible for the July events, calls such as Bleikhman's, "The street will organise us!" undoubtedly played the role of detonator for the explosion of angry unrest.⁽³⁸⁾

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Throughout the events that led up to the July Days we have noted the anxiety expressed by Bolshevik activists concerning the presence of the anarchists, particularly Bleikhman's anarchist communists in Petrograd. Earlier chapters have shown that Bolshevik fear of the anarchists was nothing new. Lenin, it will be remembered, had devoted a good deal of his writings to the potential danger of anarchism in Russia. He took particular dislike to what he considered to be

their ability to "disorganise" by the shouting of "futile" slogans and phrase-mongering in general. A Marxist, he had warned, "must not succumb ... to the abstract, verbal, but in reality empty 'revolutionism' of the anarchist".⁽³⁹⁾ Before the war, Lenin showed some foresight for the events of July 1917 when he wrote, "The anarchists constitute one of the most harmful elements of the working-class movement because they are always shouting about the mass of the oppressed classes ... always ruining the good name of any socialist organisation, but are themselves unable to create any other organisation as an alternative."⁽⁴⁰⁾

Yet despite this critique, any observer in Petrograd in the summer of 1917 could have seen for himself that the Bolsheviks and anarchists often shared identical slogans at demonstrations and rallies, particularly slogans such as "Down with the War" and "Down with the Provisional Government".⁽⁴¹⁾ It was clear that in some respects they vied with one another for radicalism. Indeed, since the beginning of the war some people, anarchists included, had begun to see between Lenin's ideas and those of the anarchists "a perfect parallelism."⁽⁴²⁾ Once the February revolution got underway, Lenin rejected any notion of a parliamentary republic and proclaimed all power to the soviets. His April Theses, containing as they did the assertion that Russia could bypass the bourgeois stage of development, dismayed socialists to the right of Lenin, and led some anarchists to believe that he had jettisoned the "minimalist" demands of Marxism for a theory of

"genuine" social revolution.⁽⁴³⁾ As a result, orthodox Marxism appeared to some to have been cast aside in favour of "anarchist" slogans and methods. Thus, even aside from ideological considerations, at rank-and-file level in Petrograd Bolsheviks and anarchists must have appeared very similar to the outsider.⁽⁴⁴⁾

Indeed, this apparent similarity was used by Bolshevism's enemies in 1917 to attempt to discredit the ideology and its leaders as no more than anarchists hell bent on destruction. After the Russkaia Volia raid, for instance, there was an attempt to link Kamenev (who had conducted the negotiations with the anarchists on behalf of the Petrograd Soviet) with the supply of the weapons used in the raid.⁽⁴⁵⁾ After the July Days the bourgeois press intensified their campaign to term the Bolsheviks as anarchists, a campaign to which the Bolsheviks responded with equal vigour.⁽⁴⁶⁾ For instance, strong denials had to be made exonerating the Bolsheviks from having taken any part in freeing Khaustov from the Kresty. Notwithstanding this, articles were carried in bourgeois newspapers calling for government resoluteness in dealing with "the Leninists and anarchists".⁽⁴⁷⁾

Yet despite the apparent similarity between the Bolsheviks and the anarchists, as far as the ideologists on both sides were concerned there remained a yawning gap which could never be bridged - the issue of taking power and retaining the instruments of state

oppression. Lenin's libertarian statements about stripping the state of all but its administrative functions hid the fundamental ideological development of the man's political thought since What Is To Be Done. Just before the February revolution, in December 1916, Lenin had chastised Bukharin for failing to see the major difference between Marxism and anarchism. Bukharin had fallen into the "very serious error", by means of quoting several statements by Marx and Engels, of seeing organised, centralised methods of social production as the main stumbling block between the ideologies, and not respective attitudes towards the state. As Lenin put it, "Socialists are in favour of utilising the present state and its institutions in the struggle for the emancipation of the working class, maintaining also that the state should be used for a specific form of transition from capitalism to socialism. This transitional form is the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is also a state".⁽⁴⁸⁾

In point of fact, even when Lenin was putting forward his ideas for a society without a standing army, police force or officialdom, he nevertheless warned against straying into the camp of anarchism, "for anarchism denies the need for a state and state power in the period of transition from the rule of the bourgeoisie to the rule of the proletariat, whereas I, with a precision that precludes any possibility of misinterpretation, advocate the need for a state in this period".⁽⁴⁹⁾ Lenin's belief that a strong state power

was essential, not only for Russia but for every state undergoing transition to socialism, was further outlined in State and Revolution, where he made clear once again what he saw to be the differences between Bolsheviks and the anarchists - whether the working class should organise state power after its victory, whether it should preserve and strengthen that state power or not, and whether it should make use of old state institutions to prepare for this dictatorship of the proletariat.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Other considerations, such as whether the workers should stand for centralised large-scale communist production, or smallscale decentralised production were of secondary importance compared with the disagreement over the state.

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Yet it remains true to say that, whatever Lenin's intentions may have been in 1917, Bolsheviks and anarchists appeared to share similar opinions on several tactical points up until the seizure of power in October. This was particularly so with respect to the anarcho-syndicalists, who, as we have noted, were relatively slow to make a mark in Petrograd, mainly because the ideology's main adherents were émigrés in Western Europe and the USA, for whom it took time to return to Russia.

The early months of 1917 saw the emergence of Iarchuk's group in Kronstadt, the greatest significance of which was that from the July Days it counted the Bolsheviks,

and not Bleikhman's anarchist communists, as allies in the revolution.⁽⁵¹⁾ But it was not until June 4, 1917, that Petrograd saw the founding of the Union of Anarcho-Syndicalist Propaganda, formed principally from émigrés who had now arrived in the capital - Voline, Raevskii, Schapiro and Vladimir ("Bill") Shatov. Although these men had been in contact with one another before the revolution, they did not share similar backgrounds. Schapiro, for instance, despite being extremely active in London for several years, and being elected Secretary to the ill-fated International Bureau at the Amsterdam Congress in 1907, had been out of Russia for twenty-five years. Shatov, however, had a more solid syndicalist background via his active membership of the Union of Russian Workers and the International Workers of the World in New York. Like Voline and Raevskii, Shatov had helped to produce the anarcho-syndicalist Golos Truda.

The Union's aim was to replant Golos Truda in Petrograd, but it took them until August before the first (weekly) edition appeared. They were joined in the venture by a young anarchist G. P. Maksimov (who often wrote under the pseudonym of Grigorii Lapot'). A qualified agronomist, Maksimov had the advantage over the others of actually having taken part in the February strikes in Petrograd.⁽⁵²⁾ Other contributors to the new newspaper were Gogeliia (who, along with Cherkeзов, had returned to his native Caucasus) and Zabrezhnev (now in Moscow), while articles also appeared from the pure syndicalist, V. A. Posse.

The first edition contained the Union's declaration of intent. Significantly, it came out in favour of the soviets as institutions capable of undertaking "a direct and fundamental reorganisation of contemporary social and economic relationships". These soviets, the Union considered, should be federated from the bottom upwards, thereby retaining the full autonomy of each small territorial unit.⁽⁵³⁾ This was essentially a reiteration of the views expressed by the anarcho-syndicalists after 1905. The great advantage of the soviets, as they saw it, was that they were neither political nor ideological organisations - that is to say, no party held sway over the decisions that the workers themselves had to make.

Yet from the onset of the use of the slogan "All Power to the Soviets" the anarcho-syndicalists were suspicious of the Bolsheviks' intentions. As anarchists, they disliked the word "power" in any sense, but most were prepared to accept it and march behind it so long as power really was to devolve to the local soviets, and not to some central soviet controlled by the Bolshevik party.⁽⁵⁴⁾ This acceptance of some limited concept of power, albeit a totally decentralised one, was to bring sarcastic criticism upon the anarcho-syndicalists' heads from both the Bolsheviks, who considered that the anarchists were inevitably being forced to accept some transitional form of workers' government, and from the anarchist communists, who treated the soviets with considerably more suspicion.

As one early Soviet writer put it, "in their (the anarcho-syndicalists') understanding of the soviets as the 'organisation of the workers', and not as the state organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the seeds of the future struggle of the anarchists with Soviet power were laid."⁽⁵⁵⁾

The anarcho-syndicalists would have agreed with this interpretation. The fact that the soviets had largely been revived on their own initiative meant for them that they should remain untainted by the dominating presence of "professional" revolutionaries. Raevskii considered the recreation of the soviets to be "the greatest characteristic trait of this revolution, indeed of all great popular revolutions." Admitting the impossibility of a direct switch from the present system to one of stateless communism, Raevskii conceded that whatever the shortcomings of the existing soviets they nevertheless remained the best "intermediate form of joining people together", since they abolished the worst aspects of the historical state and decentralised its power. The task for the anarchists upon entering the soviets, Raevskii continued, was to wrest influence in them away from the SRs, Mensheviks and Bolsheviks, and thus rid them of their "opportunistic" politics.⁽⁵⁶⁾

This theme was pursued in subsequent editions of Golos Truda. Schapiro, for instance, took a slightly less syndicalist stance than Raevskii. He insisted in September that anarchists should not close their eyes to what he called the "impending second act", when

Russia introduced a socialist government centred around the soviets. For Schapiro, when this happened the form of power would change, but the essence of authority, a minority sitting in the centre deciding the fate of a whole nation, would remain. Consequently Schapiro called for a fundamental decentralisation of power "to the point of its final removal as a factor in the life of the Russian people." This could be done best by delegating all the state's administrative tasks to the local soviets, who "can and must play an important role in regulating the course of everyday life."⁽⁵⁷⁾

Yet, as far as the soviets were concerned the voice of the anarcho-syndicalists in 1917 was not loud. Up to October, with the exception of individuals such as Iarchuk in Kronstadt and Bleikhman in the Petrograd Soviet (as head of the city's anarchist communists he had been elected onto the Soviet as early as March 7, 1917),⁽⁵⁸⁾ anarchists only had small amounts of influence in the soviets in Moscow, Bezhetsk, Khar'kov, Odessa, Aleksandrovsk, Ekaterinoslav, Gulai-Pole and Krasnoiarsk (a hangover from the exiles who stayed in the area after February).⁽⁵⁹⁾ Despite what Raevskii and Schapiro believed, they were not organisations which, except at the very local level, anarchists felt comfortable in. Indeed, the Moscow anarchist communists, who, as we shall see, had a substantial measure of support after October, came out with a direct call to boycott the work of the

soviets. These were tactics which were to prove costly after the Bolsheviki took power and control of the soviet organisation.⁽⁶⁰⁾

As we mentioned earlier, some anarcho-syndicalists, despite being in favour of the soviets, had premonitions about the role of the Bolsheviki in the organisations. A similar feeling was noticeable in their attitude to the growth of the trade union movement in 1917. Russian anarcho-syndicalists had long bemoaned the absence of mass workers' organisations, believing that their presence would effectively close the door to the future domination of the revolution by any one political party. The dramatic growth of trade unions after February, however, gave grounds for great optimism. The argument was that now that the Russian worker had acquired political freedoms, he had to push next for the more important economic ones via his "natural class organisation", the trade union.⁽⁶¹⁾

As with the soviets however, this optimism was mixed with a fear that the trade unions, despite their good intentions, would be manipulated by political parties, especially the Bolsheviki, to wrong ends. Many remembered Lenin's position towards the trade unions in What is to be Done, and claimed that his views had not been changed substantially by the events in Russia in 1917. Others were afraid that the soviets, which were political organisations, would be used to attempt Russia's economic reconstruction after the revolution

in preference to the workers' trade union organisations, and a deep conflict between the two institutions was predicted.⁽⁶²⁾

But as far as the early months of 1917 are concerned, it would be wrong to read too much into the anarcho-syndicalists concern about the future of the trade unions. For the fact was that they had at best a lukewarm attitude to the "old" workers' organisations. Instead, they made the distinction between trade unions, supported by the Mensheviks and a hangover from the days of capitalist exploitation, and the new factory committees, which were supposed to represent the wave of the future.

From the summer, however, the anti-trade union stance was one in which the anarchists became increasingly more isolated. Part of this was due no doubt to the extreme views propagated by some anarcho-syndicalists. As early as May 30 a well-known Khar'kov anarchist, Rotenburg, gave a speech to over a thousand delegates representing seventy thousand Khar'kov workers where he announced that "trade unions have become bankrupt all over the world ... In those places where they exist, they only restrain us from the struggle." He went on to argue that the union's only method of attack, the strike, was redundant, bringing nothing but three or four weeks of hunger. To those trade unions who wanted to put themselves in charge of factory committees, Rotenberg declared, "Hands off! We will not go along your path."⁽⁶³⁾

Maksimov, in Golos Truda, took a less aggressive stance towards the trade unions. His view was simply that the political parties had taken too active a part in the organisation of the trade unions, as a result of which they had become "affiliated", bound by the parties' ideas and aspirations. The factory committees, by contrast, "are the product of the creativity of the working masses." Maksimov believed that given the enormous role they had already played in their short existence, they were probably due to play "the decisive role in the final engagement between labour and capital." Therefore, he conjectured, what role was left for the trade union, "older, cautious, inclined to compromise, complacent and calling itself militant while in reality striving for class "harmony"?⁽⁶⁴⁾

It is not surprising that the anarcho-syndicalists should have embraced the factory committees both as the cells of the future society and because they appeared to have arisen as a "spontaneous" product of February. Their growing militancy, which sometimes manifested itself in the establishment of "workers' control" at factory and branch level, added further attraction to all but the most extreme of the anarchists.

Although the Bolsheviks expressly embraced the slogan, the anarcho-syndicalists involved in the factory committees felt that they remained purposely vague as to the meaning of the term "workers' control". Whether the vagueness was deliberate or not, it was certainly

true that the slogan created an "aura of mystery" about itself. As A. Lozovskii, the trade union leader, put it in 1918, "The party press wrote little about this slogan, and even less did they try to implement it with a concrete content. When the October revolution broke out and it became necessary to say clearly and precisely what this workers' control was, it developed that, even among the partisans of this slogan, there existed great differences of opinion."⁽⁶⁵⁾

The First Conference of the Petrograd Factory Committees was held May 30-June 3, 1917. While there were few anarchists amongst the 568 delegates, the basic question of the conference, workers' control, was carried by the Bolshevik majority, which heard Lenin himself speak of the need for the policy. To this extent there was little apparent disagreement (or confusion) between the Bolshevik and anarchist delegates over the meaning of the term. Zhuk, representing the Shlisselburg gunpowder works, told how workers' control of production had already been set up in his factory, and he called for the complete takeover of all factories by the workers. In reply a Bolshevik delegate from the Novyi Perviaianen works, Naumov, appeared to agree. Immediate workers' control was the order of the day, he declared, control "created from below and not from above, democratically and not bureaucratically." Lenin's proposal for "real workers' control of production and distribution of goods" won a substantial majority, and the two Menshevik "state control" resolutions received less than ten per cent of the vote.⁽⁶⁶⁾

At this stage, then, Bolsheviks and anarcho-syndicalists shared a common viewpoint at least on the question of workers' control, a viewpoint which allied them against the Menshevik belief in the need for over-riding responsibility in industrial management to be held in state institutions.

The situation began to change in August. Perhaps the combination of the increasing influence of the anarcho-syndicalists in the factory committees and the experience of the July Days were factors which led the Bolsheviks to change their line. Their worries on the first count can be traced back at least to early June, when the leaders of the Petrograd Bolsheviks, at a special meeting to discuss the formation of the anarchists' Provisional Revolutionary Committee, argued that not only should the party carry out a struggle against the anarchists, but that it should attempt to influence the anarchists "from within". There is evidence that the Bolsheviks had some success in this infiltration, a reminder of the ease with which the Okhrana had succeeded in penetrating the anarchist movement after 1905.⁽⁶⁷⁾

The change in direction was noticeable at the Second Conference of the Petrograd Factory Committees, held August 7-12, 1917. Here Bolshevik speakers such as Miliutin, Skrypnik, Derbyshev and Veinberg argued again and again that the tasks of workers' control, in the light of recent events, had been widened. It was now essential to struggle against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and alongside the slogan

of workers' control was placed the seizure of political power. In reply Shatov spoke for the anarcho-syndicalists, declaring that the factory committees had no need for political power, economic power at the workplace being sufficient. Miliutin, in his summing-up speech, countered that Shatov's proposals were "unacceptable", and the Bolshevik resolution carried the day.⁽⁶⁸⁾

Following this Voline, who was present as a delegate from the Stein factory, objected to the inclusion of the seizure of political power into the resolution, arguing that the question of the transfer of power into the hands of the proletariat had yet to be clarified by any debate. Miliutin completely disagreed, as to exclude this meant robbing the resolution of its essence. Significantly he added, "We are not anarchists, and we accept that a state apparatus is essential, and that it is essential to develop it further." Ominously for the anarcho-syndicalists, Voline's objection was overruled in a show of hands.⁽⁶⁹⁾

The next day (August 10), Voline, obviously still considering the whole question of state power to be essential to discuss, asked to be allowed to present a small paper on the subject. No doubt irritated by his persistence, Veinberg replied that the question had already been decided the previous day. "There is no point", he explained, "in wasting time on a paper which, one can say in advance, the majority do not agree with. Further, there is no room for agitation at this conference."⁽⁷⁰⁾

This Bolshevik insistence on the seizure of power dominated all future clashes between them and the anarcho-syndicalists. Despite defeats at the conferences, anarcho-syndicalists continued to clamour for complete workers' control over production and socialisation of the land, tasks to be carried out by factory committees and peasant unions. And the belief amongst them that the Bolsheviks saw the introduction of workers' control merely as a preparatory step towards the nationalisation of the commanding heights of industry began to harden.

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We shall return to this theme of "mistrust" of the Bolsheviks' intentions later. The anarchist movement as a whole, however, must now be examined, for the arrival in Petrograd (and, later Moscow) of anarcho-syndicalism rekindled the internal disagreements which had already shown themselves to be alive during the period leading up to the July Days. Those events led to sharp criticism from the anarcho-syndicalists returning to Russia from the West. Acts of expropriation and seizure were condemned as a hangover from the terrorist heyday of 1905. The anarcho-syndicalists appeared to be acutely aware of the reputation the movement had acquired both amongst other revolutionaries and in Russia as a whole following the aftermath of 1905, and some wondered aloud whether the lessons of that experience had been fully learnt by some of the activists

now working in the "open arena" of the present revolution.⁽⁷¹⁾ There was also despair at the almost complete absence of organised groups, which in turn reinforced the traditional picture of the lone-wolf anarchist.

The fact was that, despite the wholesale denunciation of both terrorism and Kropotkinist anarchist communism by the anarcho-syndicalists, now dominant in the movement in the West, the former ideologies still enjoyed a good measure of support amongst anarchists in Russia, and it was their activities in Petrograd in June that gave anarchism its "publicity". For the most part, it was these "Russian" anarchists, who had had little or no contact with the changes in thought that had taken place amongst the emigres in the West, who concentrated on the destructive effects that the revolution was having on Russia, without offering any constructive alternatives, except for vague calls to form communes anywhere and everywhere, and the traditional (although substantially muted) calls to terrorism. Indeed, some of the proclamations that appeared in the Kronstadt Kommuna and its successor Svobodnaia Kommuna clearly had much in common with the earlier Beznachalie, the main difference being that by 1917 the emphasis had been shifted towards the expropriation of firms and enterprises, rather than individual members of the bourgeoisie.⁽⁷²⁾ The anarcho-syndicalists, however, insisted on pointing out the damaging connection between anarchism and expropriations. In the minds of the public, they argued, expropriations

still meant the theft of money either with violence or with the threat of it; it was a tactic which they considered had brought great harm to the anarchists over the past decade, and they went to some lengths to reject it publicly as a "true" anarchist tactic.

Matters were further complicated by different interpretations of what workers' control meant. Disregarding the controversy over the exact Russian meaning of the expression rabochii kontrol', to the anarchist communists it was tantamount to the wholesale confiscation of industry by the workers themselves. This was going too far according to the anarcho-syndicalists, who, as we have seen, took the slogan to mean the management of industry by the workers via factory committees. This in turn smelled too much of bias towards the industrial proletariat for the extreme anarchist communists, and they warned of the failure of any revolution not carried out by those other members of the oppressed classes, the lumpenproletariat and the peasantry.

The other major area of disagreement between the two factions in this period was over the question of organisation. Like the debate over terrorism and expropriations, this was hardly a new dispute. In fairness to the anarchist communists, by 1917 most had come to accept the need for some form of organisation within the movement, but the acceptance was not allied to any real desire to cement unity in practical terms. Before October, for instance, the Moscow

Federation of Anarchist Groups called for a Union of Anarchists, to be forged via an alliance with the Petrograd Federation. Despite the fact that both organisations were anarchist communist, nothing came of the idea.⁽⁷³⁾ As far as an alliance between the two rival factions was concerned, the anarchist communists insisted on retaining their own loose, undisciplined organisations, and continued to believe that all that was necessary for the success of the revolution was "the self-reliance and broad creativity of the working class", to be realised by an armed insurrection.⁽⁷⁴⁾

Aware of this attitude, the anarcho-syndicalists stressed the need to know how to organise new forms of economic relations rather than simply to destroy the old ones. Instead of pushing their own preconceived ideas, it was time for the anarchists to involve themselves with the revolutionary masses, "even though they are not going along our path, are not behind our slogans, and even though we have predicted the failure of their actions".⁽⁷⁵⁾ One anarcho-syndicalist, A. Grachev, admitted at the beginning of September that there was no doubt in his mind that the anarchist movement in the provinces was at present very successful, but he was afraid that "all the information on the activity of the anarchists in Russia indicates that our comrades are setting up forms of organisation and carrying out the sort of work which was done in 1905, and going no further".⁽⁷⁶⁾

Grachev was also aware of the influence of the early Kropotkin on the anarchist-communists. He considered the idea of the commune as an economically self-sufficient territorial unit to be a misconception of anarchism, a utopian and even petty-bourgeois view of society. The propagation of such reactionary ideas was partly the work of the opponents of anarchism and partly that of some anarchist theorists (Kropotkin in particular) themselves, "who have insufficiently worked out the position of anarchists on the legacy which survives from capitalism". What Grachev was saying to the anarchist communists was that there were, particularly in the realms of industrial organisation, many positive features to take from the capitalists' heritage, and that there was no question of returning mankind to a "primitive condition" by the razing of that heritage to the ground. "Taking production in our hands", he continued, "we shall not destroy a single machine, nor damage a single lever. We shall not abandon our factories and plants nor replace them with an idyllic life in huts in fields and forests under the open sky." (77)

This last comment from Grachev was an obvious reference to Kropotkin and the ideas he had expounded in his Fields, Factories and Workshops. But whatever influence the man had wielded in the past had all but disappeared in 1917. By now a very old man, Kropotkin had returned to Russia on May 30, met by a crowd of some sixty thousand and there is no doubt that he had acquired for himself a great reputation amongst the

citizens who came to greet him. Because of his war stance, however, his rating amongst anarchists in Russia was low, and it hit rock bottom in August when Kropotkin was invited to speak before the Moscow State Conference by Kerensky. Receiving applause from former tsarist generals, members of the big bourgeoisie and landowners, as well as Mensheviks and SRs, Kropotkin once again called for a victorious war to the end. In the conditions in Russia in 1917, his "patriotic" stance deeply embarrassed all but his most faithful supporters.⁽⁷⁸⁾

As for the revolution itself, Kropotkin, unlike 1905, felt it fell a long way short of a social revolution. His preoccupation with the war against Germany and his long sojourn in the West meant that Kropotkin was ill-informed about the events occurring in Russia. What was worse for the anarchist movement, however, was his call, in August, for a federal republic in Russia, and his opposition to the policies put forward by the soviets, positions which were used by the anarchists' ideological enemies, in particular the Bolsheviks, to attempt to discredit them.⁽⁷⁹⁾

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However, in those areas where anarchism had shown itself to have some appeal neither Kropotkin's "desertion" nor the attempts to discredit the movement that followed in its wake appear to have hindered greatly the continued rise in influence of the anarchists between July and October. In this period, even the crippling internal disputes and the inability to

organise themselves into any unified whole did not prevent the anarchists from cashing in on the "maximalist" mood of the workers, soldiers and peasants in the revolutionary centres.

In Petrograd the anarchists continued to gain in popularity. Following their activities in the July Days, Kerensky is supposed to have threatened to "burn them out with red-hot irons",⁽⁸⁰⁾ but he was in fact powerless to prevent the anarchists from remaining active after July. The wariness which the Petrograd Bolsheviks showed towards both factions of anarchists also increased. Activists regularly reported to the central committee on the anarchist strongholds.⁽⁸¹⁾ Regular articles appeared in Pravda and other Bolshevik organs concerning the potential threat anarchism posed to the revolution, while local party organisations had meetings and lectures on the Bolshevik attitude towards the anarchists.⁽⁸²⁾ Within the factory committee movement, anarchists such as Maksimov and Shatov strove to wield influence (they were elected members of the Central Council of the Petrograd Factory Committees in June and August respectively).

The Bolsheviks were also concerned about anarchist presence in the newly-formed Red Guards. Here the movement's leading spokesman was the anarchist communist Zhuk, who effectively headed the Shlisselburg Red Guards. As early as August 2, Zhuk called for a takeover of all the functions of social order by the Red Guards. "We have nothing to be sentimental about",

he declared, "and nothing to wait for. The time has come to hit the bourgeoisie about the head." Influence in the Red Guards, several of whose leaders were anarchists, extended itself beyond October in Petrograd.⁽⁸³⁾

It would be wrong, moreover, to see the rise in anarchist influence in 1917 as restricted to Petrograd. The fact that the capital was the centre of the revolutionary events and that the two anarchist factions each managed to propagate their views via their own newspapers should not hide from us the fact that the movement was also on the upswing in the other centres, Moscow and its environs, and the south.

Far from all the emigres and exiles returned to Petrograd in 1917, and several of the well-known anarchist communists, such as Karelin, Zabrezhnev and Arshinov (released from the Butyrki prison in February) joined Barmash in the Moscow Federation's Dom Anarkhii, the former Merchants' Club expropriated by the anarchists in March. A degree of anarcho-syndicalist influence began to penetrate into the city's postal workers and those in the perfume industry, while the anarchist communists celebrated their successful expropriations with the publication of their own Anarkhiia.⁽⁸⁴⁾

Newspapers quickly began to spring up elsewhere after the summer: Khleb i Volia and Rabochaia Mysl' in Khar'kov, Golos Anarkhista in Ekaterinoslav, Svoboda Vnutri Nas in Kiev, and Anarkhist in Rostov. Every-

where the republication of works by Bakunin, Kropotkin and other anarchist thinkers began to appear, brought about by the "sudden freedom" following the Tsar's abdication. Where this literary activity was not strong, anarchist groups attempted to make up the deficiency by regular street demonstrations and impromptu meetings. By October there were additional groups in Vladivostok (mostly émigrés from America), the Urals, Saratov, Samara, Elizavetgrad and Aleksandrovsk.⁽⁸⁵⁾ The Moscow, Saratov and Ekaterinoslav anarchists all managed to organise oblast' conferences in the autumn, but the most significant was that in Khar'kov. It met, July 18-22, principally to make plans for an All-Russian Congress, to be held in Khar'kov on December 25. Interestingly, despite the fact that the conference had a strong anarchist communist bias, the majority of the representatives present came out in favour of participation in the soviets (albeit only in a "consultative nature").⁽⁸⁶⁾

Special mention must be made of the activities of Nestor Makhno in this period. Makhno was liberated from the Butyrki on March 2, 1917, and after a brief spell with Arshinov in Moscow, he returned to Gulai-Pole three weeks later. Unlike any of his comrades, Makhno immediately set about trying to make the splintered, diverse anarchists into a unified, mass movement. He was particularly keen on the establishment of an Anarchist Peasant Union, the Gulai-Pole branch of which he set up at the end of March. According to Makhno himself his organisational efforts in the region

were "very successful", and by Mayday the anarchists were a force to be reckoned with.⁽⁸⁷⁾

However, throughout this period and into the summer, Makhno despaired of his comrades' inability or unwillingness to organise, or to undertake "the responsible tasks required". He was convinced that it was for this reason that the anarchists were prevented from creating "a mighty organisation".⁽⁸⁸⁾ Whether this was the case or not, it was true that as Makhno's energies began to spread, a growing feeling of embitterment towards the anarchist "leaders" in general, and Kropotkin in particular, developed. Makhno bemoaned the lack of propaganda activity in other guberniias, where, he believed, the movement in the towns "hardly breathed".⁽⁸⁹⁾

By the end of August, Makhno decided "to go it alone". Convinced that no organised mass movement was forthcoming, Makhno, who by now had become Chairman of Gulai-Pole Soviet, decided to take the lead in the sharing out of livestock and land in the area. When news of the Kornilov conflict arrived, Makhno headed a Committee for the Defence of the Revolution, which set about disarming the local bourgeoisie and neutralising any possible counterrevolution.⁽⁹⁰⁾

This brief account of Makhno's activities prior to October is worthwhile both because it demonstrates the potential support that anarchism commanded in the south, and because it shows up the lack of resolution apparent amongst the main activists in the movement

when it came to the crucial questions - organisation and unification. Instead, the Petrograd and Moscow anarchists concentrated their energies on predicting the course of the revolution and warning of the Bolsheviks' intentions.

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Anarchist communists such as Bleikhman were convinced by August that an anarchist revolution was in the offing. Utterly contemptuous of the policies of the Provisional Government, Bleikhman proclaimed that by its "absurdity" and "error" it had "exposed the ulcers of human existence in all their gross nakedness". Its friendly attitude towards the bourgeois forces of counterrevolution and its futile attempts to silence the anarchists meant that its days were numbered. "Russia has already been pushed into the chaos of economic breakdown - the work of incompetent politicians - and a final catastrophe, the day of judgement, is approaching." Sensing this, Bleikhman called for the abolition of private property, the expropriation of all housing, the abolition of trade, "commercial inequality" (mortgage, rent and inheritance law), prisons, and money, and a conversion of the present war to one of the oppressed against their true enemies - the landlords, priests and bankers.⁽⁹¹⁾

This last point, the "war on war", was one which all anarchists were particularly insistent on. In the autumn of 1917 the anarchists clearly believed the

mood of the Russian people, and particularly the soldiers, to be one where a "settling of accounts" on a universal scale could be contemplated. In so far as they preached the immediate cessation of hostilities against the German oppressors they struck a popular chord with many of those involved in the fighting. But the anarchist communists, not surprisingly, went further than this. To them, "the ending of the war is the beginning of creative, free labour, the destruction of the old and the creation of a new, beautiful life. This is the path to freedom, to Anarchy."⁽⁹²⁾

By the beginning of October, the mood amongst the Petrograd anarchist communists was almost ecstatic. One writer in Svobodnaia Kommuna, which had replaced Kommuna as the Federation's organ, was convinced that the Russian peasant and worker was not about to stop at the winning of "political" rights and freedoms. The desire in the soviets and factory committees for the expropriation of private property "has gained ascendancy over all conservative or chauvinist tendencies", and was being put into practice in many areas. This then, was "the beginning of a social revolution, the beginning of the final struggle for liberation", which would undoubtedly succeed, in the writer's opinion, so long as the people were not fooled by Kerensky or Lenin into giving themselves a new tyrant in place of the old one.⁽⁹³⁾

The anarcho-syndicalists, while being equally confident that the Russian urban and rural proletariat was working towards a revolution "anti-statist in its method of struggle, syndicalist in its economic content and federalist in its political tasks",⁽⁹⁴⁾ nevertheless had reservations about the second of the above-mentioned potential "tyrants", Lenin. Voline for one felt that the comparatively late arrival on the scene of the anarcho-syndicalists had forced them to take a different path to the one they would have preferred, and had led them into unpleasant compromise with the Bolsheviks, in the wake of whom (especially in the factory committees) they seemed doomed to follow.⁽⁹⁵⁾

At the beginning of September, Voline had confidently stated that "there are no 'leaders', no Dantons, Marats or Robespierres amongst our crop of revolutionaries".⁽⁹⁶⁾ Yet by the end of the month he was asking why there was no room for hope, why things had "gone wrong". Part of the answer, he suggested, lay with the Bolseheviks (who were often mistakenly linked with the anarchists by public opinion and the Menshevik press), who were "stealing" the anarchists' agrarian and industrial programmes for their own ends. The policies now pursued by the Bolsheviks, Voline noted bitterly, had been the ones for which the anarchists had been dubbed utopians, fanatics and demagogues in the early days of the revolution. Marxism had apparantly been abandoned in favour of "purely anarchist ideas and purely anarchist tactics".⁽⁹⁷⁾

But these apparent similarities between the Bolsheviks and the anarcho-syndicalists were, according to Voline, "a trap". The slogan, "All land to the peasants" was indeed anarchism, insofar as it did not mean nationalisation of the land. "Workers' control" was an anarchist maxim, so long as the workers were not called upon to vote for "motion number so-and-so". And "All power to the soviets", where the word "power" was taken to mean organisation of new life everywhere on a decentralised basis was fine according to Voline, so long as the slogan was not converted to mean "All power to the (Petrograd) Soviet", i.e. the seizure of the centralised political power of the Soviet by the Bolsheviks. (98)

In fact, a number of anarcho-syndicalists effectively had fallen into this "trap" already by October, and had come to believe that the Bolsheviks, unlike the Mensheviks, were on the verge of "shaking the dust of Marxism from their feet". (99) More importantly, the Bolsheviks were aware that they needed at least the tacit support of the anarchists in Petrograd for their planned coup. Between July and October, therefore, despite the doubts that lingered on either side, the anarchists and Bolsheviks worked together towards the violent overthrow of the Provisional Government which provided the bridge which temporarily united them into an uneasy alliance.

The presence of the anarchists, particularly in Petrograd, continued to disturb Lenin and the Bolshevik leadership. From early October, mindful of the reports he was receiving regarding the anarchists, Lenin decided that chaos would soon ensue if power were not seized and order brought to bear on Petrograd. He was especially worried by the anarchists' intention, as Zhuk had put it, "to hit the bourgeoisie about the head" once the Provisional Government was overthrown.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾

Be that as it may, during the actual seizure of power many anarchists in Petrograd tore into battle alongside the Bolsheviks. An estimated five hundred anarchists took part in the coup, and four of the sixty four members of the Voenrevkom were anarchists, (Bleikhman, Shatov, Iarchuk and a relatively unknown anarchist, G. Bogatskii).⁽¹⁰¹⁾ Zhuk led a two hundred strong detachment of the Shlisselburg Red Guards in the storming of the Winter Palace.⁽¹⁰²⁾ An anarchist sailor who had been prominent in Kronstadt in the build-up to October, Anatolii Zhelezniakov, was also noted for his courage in leading a detachment of sailors in the attack.⁽¹⁰³⁾ The day after the Bolshevik seizure of power, the Moscow Federation, which by now represented the single largest anarchist group, brought out a special issue of Anarkhiia, which stated that "while disagreeing ideologically with the Social Democrats, and while not considering the struggle for political power to be correct, we, the anarchists, have decided to support the uprising of the Petrograd revolutionary proletariat against the insolent bourgeoisie."⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

Yet despite the excessive optimism of the anarchists (in particular, the anarchist communists) prior to October, and the upsurge in the fortunes of the movement which was to continue until the middle of 1918, when the Bolsheviks called a violent halt to it, the fact was that the October revolution caught the anarchists unawares in terms of the organisation of the events by the Bolsheviks, events which quickly overtook the anarchists.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Throughout this period, their new-found popularity concealed the anarchists' inability to organise themselves on any sort of level to present an effective alternative to Bolshevik power, and the ideological and tactical wranglings between the two wings of the movement rendered them incapable even of holding a general conference to argue out their differences. While the views that the anarchists claimed to represent in October were to be less easy for the Bolsheviks to eradicate, their lack of unity was to make them an easy prey for future Bolshevik suppression.

CHAPTER VI

THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT IN RUSSIA,

OCTOBER 1917 - APRIL 1918:

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This chapter examines the anarchist presence in Russia during the height of the movement's successes, from October 1917 to the summer of 1918. In particular it analyses the anarchists' reactions to the Bolshevik seizure of power and the stance that they adopted towards the new leadership in Russia. Much of this is taken up with a discussion of the anarchists' attitudes towards Bolshevik policy after October.

Secondly, the chapter attempts to put forward explanations as to why the Russian anarchists were so successful during this period, and also looks at reasons for the movement's inability to consolidate that success. Finally, there is a discussion of the build-up to the decision made by the Bolshevik leadership to bring a halt to the anarchists' activity, thereby paving the way towards their ultimate removal from the scene as "enemies of the revolution".

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Following the Bolshevik seizure of power, a new problem was added to the traditional disagreements within the anarchist movement. Put quite simply, the October revolution robbed the anarchists of much of the ideological weaponry they had used to try to influence events. As one commentator later put it,

it took away their "social sting".⁽¹⁾ Instead, the anarchists were now faced with the dilemma of how to relate to the new Soviet power and its instigator, the Bolsheviks. Even though the anarchists had traditionally rejected the political struggle as of purely secondary importance, they were, after October, faced with the prospect of capitulation to the policies of the Bolsheviks unless they could present themselves as a viable alternative with mass appeal.

Most of the anarchists, however, were reluctant to come to terms with this state of affairs. The vast majority rejected the new Soviet power. As they saw it, they had not struggled for the establishment of this power before October, and they did not see it as their business to strengthen it in any way, especially as they felt threatened by its presence. Instead, the call went out for the so-called "third revolution". The fact that many anarchists believed such a revolution to be imminent after October is not surprising if one recalls the excessive optimism which the days after July had witnessed. As an open letter to the Bolsheviks, published in the organ of the Siberian anarchists' Sibirskii Anarkhist put it, "in moving towards the October revolution we thought that paradise on earth was just around the corner."⁽²⁾

This attitude was supplemented by the previous fear that the Bolsheviks would convert the revolution into state capitalism unless a third and final revolution was engineered. Therefore, the method to be employed

was to appear even more radical than the Bolsheviks so as to appeal to those sections of the population that had helped to bring the Bolsheviks to power. Thus, as early as November 13, in a lecture at Petrograd's Cirque Moderne, the anarchist V.L. Gordin swore that the anarchists would work to overthrow the Soviet government. His speech was published in Burevestnik, the successor to Svobodnaia Kommuna, and four days later the newspaper warned the Bolsheviks, "do not forget that there are now groups more left-wing than you."⁽³⁾

The third, and final, revolution, the anarchists envisaged, would be realised through disenchantment with the "new idol" of Soviet power. A renewed struggle, according to Golos Truda, was inevitable, a struggle between "the living forces", namely the local workers' and peasants' organisations "acting directly and independently to bring about the expropriation of the land and of all the means of consumption, production and transportation", and the centralist socialist power defending its own existence. In other words, it was to be a struggle between authority and freedom, a struggle between two long contending social ideals - the Marxist and the anarchist.⁽⁴⁾

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In the winter of 1917 and the spring of 1918 there were grounds for believing that the anarchists could institute such a struggle. Though still small numeri-

cally, the anarchist movement had established itself as a force to be reckoned with both in Petrograd and in Moscow, and in the south. In January 1918, there were some twenty-five anarchist organisations active in over seventy towns in Russia. These groups were responsible for the publication of over twenty anarchist journals and newspapers.⁽⁵⁾ By April 1918, there were groups operating in eighty-nine towns, publishing thirty-six newspapers and journals.⁽⁶⁾

As far as actual numbers of anarchists are concerned, the data is very sketchy. At one extreme, Bleikhman put the numbers in Petrograd alone at eighteen thousand (this number was calculated by dividing the number of workers represented at the First All-Russian Conference of Factory Committees by the number of anarchist delegates).⁽⁷⁾ A more conservative estimate, made by Avrich, is of around ten thousand in Russia as a whole, discounting Tolstoyans or Makhno's peasant movement in the Ukraine, or the many "sympathisers who regularly read anarchist literature and closely followed the movement's activities, without taking a direct part in them."⁽⁸⁾ The absence of "party cards", of course, makes any such estimate impossible to verify, but what evidence there is suggests that this figure is a reasonable guess.

There is no doubt that the dimensions that the propaganda activity took on after October were unprecedented for the anarchists in Russia. The establishment of newspapers also served as some form of uniting centre for those anarchist tendencies, such as the Tolstoyans

and the individualists, who categorically rejected the creation of their own organisations.⁽⁹⁾ Certain newspapers are known to have enjoyed quite large circulations. The Moscow anarchists' Anarkhiia had a circulation of 20,000, Petrograd's Svobodnaia Kommuna 10,000 and the anarcho-syndicalist Vol'nyi Golos Truda (the Moscow successor to Golos Truda in the spring of 1918) 15,000.⁽¹⁰⁾

Their appearance was in turn supplemented by the establishment of some fifteen book-publishing outlets in Petrograd, Moscow, Khar'kov, Elizavetgrad and Odessa. Feverish activity in the winter of 1917 produced dozens of anarchist classics from Kropotkin, Bakunin, Malatesta and others, as well as the "homegrown" works of anarchists such as Gogeliia, Karelin, the Gordin brothers, Aleksei Borovoi, German Sandomirskii, Novomirskii and Lev Chernyi.⁽¹¹⁾ In all, in this period the anarchists had available significant opportunities for the propagation of their views, especially in the leading revolutionary centres, where the printed word was allied to public speaking both at large rallies of workers and soldiers, and in their own lectures and meetings.

Between October and the spring of 1918, the centre of gravity of the anarchist movement, both in terms of its popularity and its leading activists, swung away from Petrograd towards Moscow, especially once the latter became the new capital city. However, the anarchist communists in Petrograd, led by Bleikhman, continued to act as a thorn in the side of the Bolsheviks in the war-torn city. Their strongholds remained the

Vyborg district, Kronstadt, Shlisselburg and Kolpino,⁽¹²⁾ and the tone of Burevestnik differed not at all from the earlier newspapers of the Petrograd anarchist communists a tone of optimism hiding an ever increasing fear of the "power-hungry" Bolsheviks who were set upon betraying the Russian worker and becoming the new oppressor. The appearance of Burevestnik in November was the result of Bleikhman's Federation joining with other small groups, including some lapsed individualists, to form a Petrograd Federation of Anarchist Groups.

Yet in terms of actual numbers, Bleikhman's Federation has been reckoned to have been smaller than either Golos Truda's Union of Anarcho-Syndicalist Propaganda,⁽¹³⁾ headed by Voline, or by the third "federation" in the city, G. Bogatskii's Union of Independent Anarchists, about which almost nothing is known, save that it had representation, via Bogatskii, on the Petrograd Voennrevkom. The anarcho-syndicalists' activity after October continued to be that of the sequestration, or "socialisation" of housing in the city. This was the task that Iarchuk had already begun before October, and it is significant that his support came mostly from sailors in Kronstadt (he was one of the Kronstadt sailors' delegates to the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets, and one of only three anarchist delegates to the Congress).

As we have seen, much of the anarchists' success before October (especially in the July Days) had been with the armed forces stationed in the capital and Kronstadt, and this popularity continued after the

revolution. This no doubt was helped in part by the personalities of anarchists such as Iarchuk, Zhuk and Zheleznaikov, each of whom commanded immense personal respect from all revolutionaries, Bolsheviks included. Just as in the October coup, each was to play an heroic role in the forthcoming civil war, the latter two dying for the Soviet cause.⁽¹⁴⁾

The openly militant stance of the anarchists after October meant that they also continued to have success amongst the Red Guards in Petrograd. The non-party character of the Red Guards meant that at their height, in December, less than fifty per cent were Bolsheviks, and an estimated fifty-three per cent classified themselves as non-party. In Shisselburg, where Zhuk held sway, the Bolsheviks could claim direct support from only eleven of the sixty-six Red Guards accounted for in a survey of that district.⁽¹⁵⁾ This situation allowed the anarchist communists and the SR Maximalists to wield a significant amount of influence in the early days after October, especially in the condoning by the Red Guards of acts of lawlessness perpetrated by anarchist groups in the name of the revolution.

For the Bolsheviks, however, the situation was worse in Moscow. Here the Federation of Anarchist Groups boasted a total membership of some three thousand, and although this figure may be somewhat exaggerated, all sources are agreed that by the spring of 1918 the Moscow anarchists were vying with the Bolsheviks for influence in some of the outlying regions of the city and its environs.⁽¹⁶⁾ This was as much to do with the

relative strength of the anarchists as with the relative weakness of the Bolsheviks. Nevertheless, large anarchist groups affiliated to the Federation existed in such suburban industrial areas as Sokolniki, Presnia, Zamoskvorechie and Lefortovo. The Federation's Dom Anarkhii, "an enormous and magnificent house, luxuriously decorated and housing a library and theatre ... proved to be well suited for the most extensive and varied anarchist activity", as Maksimov put it.⁽¹⁷⁾ The anarchists' success was such that by the end of January 1918 speakers such as Barmash and Askarov were holding frequent and well-attended lectures on anarchist ideology in all areas of the city. Links were set up with provincial groups in Riazan, Smolensk, Tula, Tver, Iaroslavl', Kostroma and Briansk.⁽¹⁸⁾

The dominant faction within the movement in Moscow remained the anarchist communists. As well as prominent émigrés, such as the terrorist Askarov, the Moscow anarchist communists brought to the forefront several notable personalities, such as Lev Chernyi, who acted as secretary to the Moscow Federation of Anarchist Groups,⁽¹⁹⁾ Aleksei Borovoi, a Moscow professor of philosophy who was responsible for much of the movement's propaganda work;⁽²⁰⁾ and the Gordin brothers, A. L. and V. L., who with their own publishing activity and their unique brand of anarchist ideology, pan-anarchism, veered closely towards individualism.⁽²¹⁾

Bolshevik presence in the south of Russia after October was still weaker, and until the German advance temporarily

halted its growth, the anarchist movement continued to blossom in the Ukraine. Ekaterinoslav, as well as having its own anarchist newspaper, saw the appearance of several communes which were housed in requisitioned private residences and hotels. Existing on expropriations, as they had done after 1905, both they and the Odessa anarchists formed their own guerrilla detachments to fight the Germans and, later, Petliura. One such detachment was led by Nestor Makhno, but a routing at Taganrog led him to flee first to Povolzh'e and then to Moscow in the early summer of 1918.⁽²²⁾ During this period his presence in the Ukraine was yet to be felt.

As we have seen, the other major centre in the south was Khar'kov. Led by the anarchists Dodonov and Rotenberg, the groups there managed to convene conferences of anarchists of the Donets Basin, which met on December 25, 1917 and February 14, 1918 (in Ekaterinoslav). A Bureau of Anarchists was set up, which sponsored the lecture tours that Makhno complained had come too late in the Ukraine.⁽²³⁾ In terms of organisation, the Khar'kov anarchists could boast the best set up of all anarchist groups, but even they failed in their attempt to unite the movement after October.

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These anarchist successes in the early days after October, while Russia was effectively in a state of turmoil, meant that the Bolsheviki, in the pursuance of their immediate policy aims, had to face a fight not only with the Mensheviki to their right, but also with the anarchist movement to their left. Disregarding the actual seizure of power, to which, as we have seen, many anarchists held at best a lukewarm attitude, the order of the day for Lenin soon became nationalisation of the economy, clipping of the wings of the factory committees, centralisation of the new forms of workers' and peasants' organisations, the soviets, the preparations for the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, and last, but by no means least, an end to the war. In the anarchist camp, all except for a few were opposed to every one of these policies.

Whatever the historical arguments may have been, and whatever disputes there were within the Bolshevik party, by October Lenin and the Bolshevik leadership were diametrically opposed to the ownership of individual factories by the workers employed at them, an industrial system which, according to them, could only result in the "anarchy of production". At the same time, the leadership shared a fear of the widespread workers' confiscation of industry which had been taking place in Russia since the summer. This form of "workers' control", it was becoming clear, was having a very bad effect on production. This may well have been one of the reasons why the Bolshevik leadership began to change its views on the factory committees

after July. And given this change of view, it helps in turn to explain the suspicion and hostility with which the Bolsheviks eyed the anarchist presence in the factory committees.

This presence reached its peak at the First All-Russian Conference of Factory Committees, which met just before the Bolshevik seizure of power, October 17-22, 1917. Of the 137 delegates, 11 (8%) were anarchists.⁽²⁴⁾ One of the main speakers was Shatov, who dismissed the other speakers' analysis of the political situation as "not worth an empty eggshell". The important question was who was to be the economic master in Russia, the capitalist or the worker. If it was to be the latter, then economic organisations had to be formed "to prepare methodically for the transfer of production and the land to our own hands." In reply Evdokimov, for the Bolsheviks, conceded that Shatov was right when he argued that the economy was the base of the political struggle, but "in order to change the economic relationships we have to have political power in our hands. If we had not got rid of Nicholas, we would not be sitting here now)."⁽²⁵⁾

The following day, October 20, the debate centred on workers' control. Several anarchists spoke, proposing resolutions in favour of factory committees becoming the "controlling" cells of the future, whose job should now be the preparation for the transfer of production into the hands of the workers. Zhuk argued that the closed factories could not be allowed to stand idle if the revolution were to be saved. He called for

a federation of control commissions, composed entirely of workers, to be set up to deal with the problems. This federation would be the highest economic organ in the country, thereby rendering the capitalists "a totally superfluous appendage". This picture of a direct transfer of production did not appeal to Miliutin. The Bolshevik warned the anarchist faction at the Conference that "our idea of control presupposes the nationalisation of large sectors of industry. The seizure of individual factories ... does not bring us any closer to socialism. We have to go through a transitional phase, which is the introduction of workers' control over industry."⁽²⁶⁾

This warning became further apparent in the weeks that followed the Conference. On November 3, Lenin's draft decree on workers' control was published in Pravda, and was immediately rejected by the anarchists as being minimalist in its outline. The decree, which was unanimously accepted at the session of the Executive Committee of the Soviet held on November 16, announced that workers' control was being introduced in the interests of the planned regularisation of the national economy. The factory committees, in other words, were to become state institutions.

The strongest anarchist reaction to this proposed subordination of the role of the factory committees (as the anarchists saw it to be) came at the Fifth Conference of Petrograd Factory Committees, November 15-16. The line that was taken by the Bolshevik

speakers Chubar, Skrypnik, Antipov, Derbyshev and Zhivotov was that the workers still did not have sufficient knowledge and experience for the "control" of the economy in the sense of the word used by the anarchists, and that, before taking factories into their own hands, workers had to be taught how to manage them. While this was categorically rejected by the anarchists, both Zhuk and Shatov were prepared to compromise on the issue. The former suggested limiting workers' expropriations of factories only to those that had been closed down. And Shatov merely asked that workers' control, in whatever meaning, be exclusively the task of factory committees, without any state interference. Neither resolution, however, won any significant support at the Bolshevik dominated Conference.⁽²⁷⁾

Bleikhman, however, would not be placated. He predicted that the workers, having introduced control without seizure, would become "the watchmen and gendarmes of the capitalists, protectors to the man who regularly receives an established percentage of profit. However small this percentage may be, it nevertheless puts the owner in the position of master."⁽²⁸⁾ The Bolsheviks chose to ignore his prediction, and on November 28 the All-Russian Soviet of Workers' Control, chaired by the Bolshevik V. V. Shmidt, made matters worse for Bleikhman by underlining that workers' control did not mean the taking of factories into the workers' hands, and that the old bosses should be allowed to remain at their enterprises. "Workers' control is not equivalent to the socialisation of production and exchange, but is only a preparatory step towards it", it declared.⁽²⁹⁾

Between this time and the First All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions in January, and beyond it into the spring, the anarchists mounted a campaign to attempt to halt the Bolsheviks' plans of nationalisation. A running battle developed in the press over the merits of Bolshevik nationalisation and the anarchist alternative, which was termed socialisation.⁽³⁰⁾ In effect, socialisation was the seizure, and subsequent ownership, of establishments by the workers themselves. The difference between the two terms often led to confusion among workers, and the Bolshevik leaders were forced to admit that their directive was badly misunderstood by some of the rank-and-file membership, even though the leadership itself appeared to be in little doubt over the need to nationalise the commanding heights of industry and not decentralise the economy.

The anarchists themselves were under no delusions, however, and they believed that socialisation would lead to the destruction of all forms of property.

"Under socialisation, capital and the tools of production do not belong to anyone, they are no one's: under nationalisation they belong to the state", was how one Moscow anarchist put it.⁽³¹⁾ Their conviction, though, found little or no support at the First All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions. Here the Bolsheviks argued that the anarchist notion of socialisation would only result in each factory deciding what it wanted by its own narrow group interests, irrespective of whether its product was beneficial to the country as a whole.⁽³²⁾ While this appeared to betray the Bolsheviks' low

opinion of the Russian workers' "proletarian consciousness", their awareness of the strong peasant mentality in much of the working class (a mentality which they had already had to come to terms with in their decree on the land), gave them strong justification for feeling this way. Consequently, they went to great lengths to define nationalisation as the taking over of the factories by the workers' state in the interests of all the workers, and not just the interests of each individual factory.

The six anarchist delegates at the Congress called for ownership to fall into the hands of workers' collectives at the factory level, and came out against industry becoming the property of the Soviet state (as it already had done in some large-scale factories in Petrograd such as the Putilov, Nevskii and Sestroretskii). Bleikhman warned against what he called a revolution of half-measures, benefitting only bureaucrats sitting in government offices.⁽³³⁾ His invective brought harsh replies from the Bolsheviks and a debate as to whether a policy of allowing both nationalisation and socialisation should be pursued.

Maksimov tried to put the anarcho-syndicalist viewpoint, which was markedly less extreme in its advocacy of separate establishments running their own production (he called for pure workers' organisations to lead the economy along "an organised path of the socialisation of production"), but both he and Bleikhman were criticised for failing to offer any positive alternatives to the suggested "centralised" workers' control.⁽³⁴⁾ And

a little later, Zhuk argued for socialisation from the viewpoint of revolutionary expediency. In order to remove the economic chaos which Zhuk had witnessed on a recent trip to the Donets Basin coalmines, only one way out was possible; "just as the peasants have taken all the land into their hands, so the workers must immediately take everything into their own hands ... before the heart of industry ceases to beat". Unlike the other anarchists, Zhuk concluded with a list of practical suggestions, one of which was the declaration by the Congress that the wealth of Petrograd should become people's property, news which could then be sent to all the regions of Russia so that everyone could follow suit.⁽³⁵⁾

But in reply to Zhuk, Mavrin noted wryly that although Bolsheviks and anarchists often appeared to stand very closely together, nevertheless after an anarchist had spoken, the former were forced to reply immediately. Mavrin underlined that the "official" Bolshevik stance was "for a concentration of state regularisation and control, because state control is the same as workers' control, since power is in the hands of the workers. There is no other way out apart from nationalisation."⁽³⁶⁾

Be that as it may, what evidence there is suggests that in the winter of 1917-1918, socialisation (or "nationalisation", misinterpreted by local functionaries) was widespread. A significant amount of the confusion was caused by anarchists calling at meetings for seizures of factories, particularly in Khar'kov, Krasnoiarsk, Riazan, Samara, Ekaterinoslav, the Urals, in the coal

basins of Cheremkhovo (near Irkutsk), and in those near Moscow.⁽³⁷⁾ The general state of chaos in the economic system, brought about as a result of war, the undermining of the supply of raw materials, and the disorder in the monetary system, undoubtedly aided the anarchists in their campaign, and it is impossible to gauge to what degree socialisation would have occurred without any anarchist presence - the information available is in any case far too scanty.

But Soviet historians now accept that the anarchists caused much trouble in this period in their encouragement of local seizures of enterprises.⁽³⁸⁾ The propaganda activity of the anarchists in this sphere fuelled the idea that as the land was going to the peasants, so the factories were going to the workers. This view appears to have been most prevalent in those areas and industries manned by a predominantly peasant workforce which still remained connected with the countryside and which cared little for any form of centralised state control of the economy. Indeed, when the Bogorodsk, Malevsk and Savinkovsk coal mines in the Moscow region were nationalised, the miners, predominantly peasants from the surrounding areas, interpreted it to be the transfer of the mines into their own hands, and considered using the coal for their own profit (while fuel was scarce, they believed they could name any price they liked). Similar instances of the profit motive quickly rearing its head following "nationalisation" occurred in the Donbass and amongst the gold-mining peasants in Siberia.⁽³⁹⁾

This, of course, is not what the anarchists had intended by "socialisation". However, it does appear to have been a common feature of such local seizures, a fact that merely served to strain further the increasingly poor relations between the Bolsheviks and anarchists, exacerbated in turn by the anarchists' refusal to accept centralised planning of the economy. This was the case particularly with the anarchist communists. In the early spring of 1918, Anarkhiia began to show its scepticism at what the new Soviet government could achieve in the realms of the economy. Continuing to argue that the Bolshevik version of workers' control was a half-way measure, it considered that the economic collapse was due to this "constant interference" and the resultant "muddle-headedness", combined with managerial sabotage and constraint of popular initiative.⁽⁴⁰⁾

This belief in popular initiative as the key to a successful economy was, of course, condemned by Lenin as a reflection of the anarchists' bourgeois mentality. As he put it, "Socialism is unthinkable without ... planned state organisation ... We Marxists have always said this, and with people who do not even understand this (the anarchists and a good half of the Left SRs) it is not even worth wasting two seconds on a conversation."⁽⁴¹⁾

Yet the anarchists countered that a planned economy, the retention of bourgeois specialists, and inequality of wage levels were all evidence of a return to capitalism. Aleksandr Ge, for instance, came out

strongly against forming a coalition with the industrialists, since this was tantamount to admitting that the social revolution was impossible without them. On the question of bourgeois specialists, Ge declared at the end of April 1918, "There is no need to talk with the saboteurs in the way that the Bolsheviks do. We will see how much they sabotage us when we, having taken production into our own hands, put our knee into their chest, when we point a rifle at them and say 'If you don't want to return the knowledge which you acquired through the people's wealth, then kiss goodbye to life' - and then we will see how many of them turn to sabotage." (42)

While the anarchists could expect to have little or no influence on this aspect of economic policy, they did attempt, in several Petrograd factories at least, to put their idea of equality of wages into practice. And at the First All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions in January 1918, it was noted that anarchists had incited workers to demand rises in wages of twenty to thirty per cent, irrespective of any increase in labour productivity. (43)

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So far we have left to one side the anarchists' views on the trade unions after October. To a large extent the Bolshevik seizure of power did not alter the anarchists' belief that the trade unions were organisations that had outlived their purpose and which should be

superseded by factory committees and other forms of localised workers' organisations. This view, of course, clashed with that of the Bolsheviks, most of whom, after October, turned away from the factory committees towards the trade unions.

Much of the anarchist argument, which was presented in different ways at the Fifth Petrograd Conference of Factory Committees by Shatov and Bleikhman, was that the two organisations, the trade unions and the factory committees, would be unable to work together in constructing the future society, and to this extent, as far as the Bolsheviks were concerned, they were right. The answer put forward by the Bolsheviks at the First All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions was to fuse the organisations together, while the handful of anarchist delegates argued for the supersedence of the factory committees.

The extreme view was taken by Bleikhman, who argued along anarchist communist lines that the trade unions were the traditional preserve of state socialists bent on wooing the workers into submission via the dogma of Marxism. Given the rise of "true" workers' organisations, the factory committees, what need was there, Bleikhman asked, for these mass centralised organisations?⁽⁴⁴⁾ Bleikhman's diatribe against Marxism did not go down well, however, with the Bolshevik speakers, and he was accused of being a polemicist who did not have the slightest idea about the trade union movement either in Western Europe or in Russia. The unification of the factory committees and trade unions

was already underway, Bleikhman was informed, and there was no question of the latter dying and being replaced by some other organisation.⁽⁴⁵⁾

The syndicalist case was put by Maksimov. He dwelt on the inevitability of the clash between the two forms of organisation, brought about by the widening of the proletariat's demands under the revolutionary situation in 1917. The factory committees, "organisations built spontaneously in the capitalist citadel", had in respect of these demands "taken the bull by the horns" and had saved the revolution by the initiative they had shown. The trade unions, however, suffered from being organisations which were traditionally only concerned with their members' welfare, were formed "from above downwards", and were often open only to some workers of a given factory. The "aristocracy" thus created stifled the workers' initiative and independence. The trade union, therefore, was superfluous to needs and should be jettisoned.⁽⁴⁶⁾

Maksimov's speech was greatly resented by the pro-trade unionists, mainly because he referred to the three million Russian trade unionists as "dead souls" in terms of their revolutionary activity. Veinberg for one considered such a description "laughable". Was it really true, he asked rhetorically, that all the metalworkers, railwaymen and post office workers were dead souls?⁽⁴⁷⁾

The anarchist resolution at the Congress was in due course heavily defeated, and the trade unions won the day.

Veinberg's comment was a fair one in the sense that the anarchists themselves, despite their rhetoric, were prepared to work amongst the "dead souls" in the trade union movement both before October, as we have already seen, and after it. And, given their dislike of the organisations (and their own organisational shortcomings), in certain sectors they fared remarkably well from the end of 1917 through to the beginning of 1919.

Once again, much appears to have depended on the type of worker and on the region of the country. Anarchists had influence in the miners' trade union in the Debaltsev district in the Donets Basin, amongst longshoremen and cement workers in Novorossiisk and Ekaterinodar in the Kuban, amongst the railway workers', perfumery' and bakers' trade unions in Moscow region, and amongst the Petrograd postal workers.⁽⁴⁸⁾

Anarchist presence in the bakers' union is particularly significant, made up as it was of bakers, confectioners, millers and workers of other trades connected with the food industry. From November 1917 the Bolsheviks began the process of merging small, "unreliable" unions into large units. Amongst the bakers this process was not completed until January 1919, largely because of the efforts of the anarchists within the union to decentralise its machinery throughout 1918. Most of the anarchist support came from the bakers of Saratov, Kiev, Khar'kov, Odessa and Moscow.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Many of the Moscow bakers in particular had recently been peasants from the surrounding Kaluga, Riazan, Smolensk and Tambov

guberniias, and such was the anti-centralist feeling that the bakers of the Rogozhskii raion of Moscow actually managed to split from the main union of food industry workers in May 1918.⁽⁵⁰⁾

The anarchist opposition to the Bolshevik desire to transfer the trade unions from the narrow trade, workshop system to industry-wide, mass organisations based on the principle of democratic centralism had some success in 1918 amongst unions of tramway workers, porters, barbers, sewage workers and railwaymen.⁽⁵¹⁾ Further, the First Congress of Postal Workers' Union, in April-May 1918, saw an alternative "federalist" notion put to the delegates by the anarcho-syndicalist Grigor'ev, which was only narrowly defeated.⁽⁵²⁾ As with workers' control, it appears to have been the case that the anarchists capitalised on the exploitation of decentralist, antistatist feelings already inherent in some sections of the workforce. Their presence, it may be assumed, in many cases helped these feelings to find expression within the trade union movement.

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One of the major internal disagreements between anarchists after October concerned participation in the new form of government in Russia, the soviets. Again, those who boycotted them found themselves in disfavour with the Bolsheviks, who soon came to equate such action with counterrevolutionary tendencies.

Many of the anarchist communists disliked the soviets per se, seeing in them institutions of government which were bound to oppress the masses in the long run. Burevestnik, for instance, clung on to the vision of the future society where "full autonomy and the self-determination of all peoples and towns and villages, freely uniting in unions and federations" was present.⁽⁵³⁾ Quite naturally, the anarchist communists saw the appearance of communes at the end of 1917 as an extremely heartening sign, and they urged on the workers to "organise over the head of all the state institutions free, voluntary, self-managed communes. Don't dally, for delay is tantamount to death".⁽⁵⁴⁾ In March 1918 one anarchist communist published his ideas for an "anarchist constitution", based on the autonomy of the individual and leading up to autonomous groups based on "freely concluded agreement".⁽⁵⁵⁾ While this view bordered on individualist anarchism, the hostility towards the soviets as organs of power was a common feature of anarchist communists after October. By June 1918, Anarkhiiia was declaring that "the very minute that the soviets took power they ceased to be soviets, and became instead compulsory institutions: a state, bureaucratic, official apparatus".⁽⁵⁶⁾

Generally speaking, the anarchist communists remained optimistic, in the early days after October, that their future society was about to be realised in Russia. The manifesto of the Moscow Federation of Anarchist Groups, published at the beginning of November 1917, was sure that all that was needed was a single organ which would unite along federative lines all the local factory

committees and workers' organisations, and which would take possession of all property and land, leaving the industrial and agricultural communes to bring into effect "the natural exchange of products between town and country". "Life itself", the manifesto declared, "is pushing the economic organisation of society towards this plan".⁽⁵⁷⁾

Their optimism revealed itself in other spheres of economic policy, most notably in the abolition of money. The Khar'kov anarchist, Dodonov, had suggested as early as the summer of 1917 that financial matters were of no concern to the success of the social revolution: "To us it is not terrible if there is no money; indeed, we can get by without money as it is only harmful to us".⁽⁵⁸⁾ Bleikhman was particularly vociferous on this point, and Moscow's Anarkhiia even included the uselessness of money as one of the points in its Anarchist Decree published in March 1918.⁽⁵⁹⁾

Statements such as these embarrassed the anarcho-syndicalists, whose attitude towards the soviets after October was decidedly more ambivalent. A minority, which included anarchists such as Shatov, quickly became "Soviet anarchists", and entered the organs of Soviet power in order to work for their success. For the others, many (such as Ge, Iarchuk and Grossman-Roshchin) entered primarily to attempt to divert the soviets away from Bolshevik ideas of centralisation and towards the anarcho-syndicalist notion of decentralised, federative soviets. Under the all-

Russian federated republic created from the uniting of these soviets, each soviet would be thought of as an absolutely independent entity.⁽⁶⁰⁾ Although this idea was anathema to Lenin, especially with a civil war on his doorstep, the fact that the anarcho-syndicalists in general accepted the role of soviets as the creators of the conditions for the active participation of the workers in running the economy drew them closer together than was the case with the anarchist communists.

In effect, many anarcho-syndicalists had come to accept the soviets as some sort of transitional stage towards securing the social revolution. Lenin was one who noted this and pointed out that "while some anarchists talk about the soviets with anguish, still finding themselves under the influence of outdated views, a new, fresher anarchist tendency definitely stands on their side."⁽⁶¹⁾ He was also not slow to conclude that those who had accepted the soviets after October "have thus razed to the ground the theory of anarchism, which rejects any form of power."⁽⁶²⁾

But in fairness to the anarcho-syndicalists, they continued to hold that "All power to the soviets" should mean a decentralised power, an unlimited local autonomy which would act as the precursor to the final destruction of power. This decentralisation in turn excluded any centralised Soviet of People's Commissars, an institution which anarchists were irredeemably hostile towards. At the session of the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets when the creation of the

new Soviet government was being announced in the Smol'ny, Iarchuk, there as a representative of the Kronstadt anarchists, cried out "What Soviet of Commisars? What sort of invention is this? All power to the soviets!" A fierce argument flared up around him, but Iarchuk would not be silenced.⁽⁶³⁾

This insistence on differentiating between the soviets and Soviet power reasserted itself at the Third Congress in January 1918. Ge declared then that "the politics which are being followed here undoubtedly stem from a spirit of centralism. But we must decentralise, build from below." All power to the soviets had to exclude "any kind of centralised government of people's commissars."⁽⁶⁴⁾

This opposition to the centralisation of the soviets did not hide the fact that many of the anarchists realised that they faced a dilemma over their position towards the soviets after October. Because of their ideology they could not accept the soviets as organs of power, and yet on the other hand they could not fail to consider them to be the basic organisations of the workers and peasants, which had originally arisen as a result of the "revolutionary creativity" of the masses. This dilemma was graphically outlined in an article by Maksimov in Golos Truda shortly after the Bolshevik seizure of power. Accepting that the soviets had been the best forms of revolutionary organisations before October, Maksimov lamented the fact that by allowing themselves to become the organs of power they had automatically ceased to be revolutionary.⁽⁶⁵⁾

Notwithstanding this dilemma, anarchists joined soviets, particularly at the local level, in a vain attempt to decentralise their power, a situation which was considered essential if they were to continue to act as revolutionary organs. While many believed that the struggle against this new form of soviet could best be carried out without joining these organisations, some argued that it was only from the inside that change could be generated. And there is evidence that their calls for decentralisation did not pass unnoticed in some local soviets.⁽⁶⁶⁾

However, anarchist representation in the soviets at all levels was very low. At the all-Russian level, their best showing came at the Fourth and Fifth Congresses in March and July 1918, when they had 17 and 14 delegates respectively. But the first of these figures represents the only occasion when anarchists exceeded one per cent of all delegates.⁽⁶⁷⁾

In December 1917 one place was reserved for an anarchist on the Petrograd Soviet. For a short time thereafter the representative, Ge, was a voting member on the Soviet's Executive Committee (Ge and Karelin were present also in the All-Russian Central Executive Committee).⁽⁶⁸⁾ Iarchuk was a member of the Kronstadt Soviet Executive Committee before departing for the civil war. And the Shlisselburg Soviet appointed Zhuk its local commissar of production after October.⁽⁶⁹⁾

In fact, many anarchists showed a fundamental aversion towards declaring a "party allegiance", and preferred

to call themselves "non-party" for the purposes of representation in local soviets. This makes it extremely difficult to assess accurately the general quantity of anarchist deputies in local soviets in 1918. Nevertheless, it seems likely that at the district level, anarchists never constituted more than about three per cent of delegates to congresses. Within certain local soviets their representation was much higher than this, of course, but across the board it was not their presence, but their propaganda, which posed a potential threat to the Bolsheviks.⁽⁷⁰⁾

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It would be wrong to see the anarchists' poor representation in factory committees, trade unions and soviets after October purely in terms of unwillingness on their part to stand for election or declare themselves as anarchists once appointed. While some aspects of their ideology, particularly those that stressed antistatism and decentralisation, may have appealed to some sections of the Russian workforce, the anarchists found themselves not only with little support but also with a hostile reception to their attitude towards both the Constituent Assembly, and the continuation of the war against Germany.

The anarchists were the only "party" to boycott totally the elections to the Constituent Assembly, a fact which could only serve to polarise them

further from the other parties' supporters. Their opposition to the elections was of course logically consistent, given the lack of faith anarchists had in representative democracy, and tactically it followed on from their boycott of the Duma after the 1905 revolution. All anarchists were united in arguing that there was no point in establishing an institution which they considered to be both bourgeois and political, and which would concern itself only with attempting to stop and then suppress the revolution.⁽⁷¹⁾

Throughout the autumn of 1917 the anarchists campaigned vociferously against the Constituent Assembly, insisting that if the people had to have institutions placed above them, then those institutions should be workers' and peasants' soviets, and not some "Star Chamber", guaranteed to keep the working class "caught in the web of capitalism, statism and coercive authority".⁽⁷²⁾ Even those anarcho-syndicalists who did not take such an extreme view of democracy considered that the Constituent Assembly, since it was to represent all sections of society and not just the workers, should be dispersed.⁽⁷³⁾

The Bolsheviks, however, saw matters differently in 1917, a fact which rankled with the anarchists and added still further to their suspicions of the real intentions of Lenin's party in terms of the furtherance of the revolution. The anarchists accused them of a wavering attitude towards the Constituent Assembly, and one compared them to the socialist couple who

believed in free love, but whose female partner wanted to get married, "just in case". It was certainly the case that the Bolsheviks hesitated to abandon a tactic with which they might win overall recognition at once, and which, if they failed, they could dispose of with little difficulty.⁽⁷⁵⁾

But the anarchists totally failed to see the tactical importance of the Constituent Assembly, and dubbed the Bolsheviks' attitude towards it as duplicity which was "contradictory, extremely harmful and dangerous".⁽⁷⁶⁾

When the Assembly was called, Bleikhman wrote an article in Burevestnik condemning the Bolshevik leadership's position, and two days later the newspaper proclaimed the Bolsheviks "guilty of this useless, criminal extravagance of popular strength, of revolutionary force".⁽⁷⁷⁾

This stance was not one, however, which won the anarchists popularity especially as it was translated by their opponents into a refusal to abide by the majority decision in politics. And the anarchists also found themselves with little support for their insistence on the continuation of the war against Germany. After October the anarchists took the view that the front should be abandoned so as to allow the German army to be drawn into the depths of the country, thereby isolating and demoralising it by methods of guerrilla warfare.

Prior to October, however, the Bolsheviks and anarchists had been united in their calls for an end to the war, anarchists such as Bleikhman urging the

soldiers to turn their rifles "against their true enemies - the landlords, priests and bankers." (78) This in turn became translated into the slogan "A war on the war", the argument being that wars were only beneficial to the bourgeoisie. To this extent, as we have seen, the anarchists had won for themselves much respect amongst sections of the Russian armed forces prior to the Bolshevik seizure of power.

Following the October coup, the anarchists took this slogan one stage further and argued that as the war had been converted into a revolution, the revolution had to be defended not only against internal counter-revolutionaries, but also against the external enemy, the bourgeoisie in the West. Talk became of the twofold enemy that the Russian people had to fight against. But in the conditions in which the Bolsheviks had come to power Lenin considered the slogan to be dangerous and potentially disastrous to the defence of the revolution. Negotiations were entered into with the German command, and the peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed.

Both the anarchists and the Left SRs were as one in their condemnation of the Brest peace. They clamoured for a continuation of the "revolutionary war", and accused the Bolsheviks of compromising with German imperialism. As Ge put it at the Fourth Extraordinary All-Russian Congress of Soviets in March 1918, "Having agreed to accept the conditions of the German peace we have handed over our revolutionary positions and we will fall under the Germans' mailed

fist." Instead of a revolutionary peace, which they had campaigned for before October, the Bolsheviks had been forced into signing an imperialist one.⁽⁷⁹⁾

Burevestnik termed it "a disgraceful peace" signed by so-called Marxists who had apparently lost faith in the objective process of the class struggle as the real expression of the strivings of all workers. It declared its intention to continue the war in the name of international revolution.⁽⁸⁰⁾

The vituperation shown by the anarchists towards the Brest treaty was merely part of a general disgust with the way the Bolsheviks proposed to defend the socialist gains (gains which many anarchists rejected in any case, as they refused to accept October as a true revolution). The methods employed were condemned as "cowardly, half-way measures" by Burevestnik, which added that "the masters are cruelly mistaken in thinking that the genuine revolution is already finished, that it now only remains to strengthen those feeble gains that have fallen to the working people. No! The real revolution, the social revolution, the liberator of the toilers of all countries, is only just beginning."⁽⁸¹⁾

To this end, many anarchists came out against the creation of the Red Army, the establishment of military-revolutionary committees and the instigation of so-called revolutionary discipline in the army. Instead, the armed forces should be totally demobilised and allowed to return to their factories and land.

Their antimilitarist beliefs led them to reject any notion of a standing army, even one which had voluntary recruitment.⁽⁸²⁾

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There is no doubt that the Bolshevik leadership, following the signing of the Brest treaty, took a strong dislike to such talk from the anarchists. Further, this dislike was mixed with growing feelings of uneasiness at the anarchists' continued efforts to organise partisan detachments to send to the front. Not only might they disrupt the peace by some armed combat at the front, but, more importantly, they represented an armed, lawless force, a potential threat to the maintenance and strengthening of Soviet power.

The level and extent of this lawlessness in the months after October should not be underplayed. We have already recounted the behaviour of Bleikhman's anarchists in Petrograd before October, and as law and order began to collapse under the combined strain of war and revolution, so the ground was laid for the revival of anarchist terrorism in Russia.

The city which felt the brunt of the anarchists' activity in this sphere after October was undoubtedly Moscow. Of the partisan detachments that were formed in the city, collectively known as Black Guards, some members were indeed bent on preparing for the expected guerrilla war against Germany. The majority, however,

were more interested in the rewards which the carrying of arms promised in the winter of 1917-18. The detachments saw as their task the carrying out of searches and requisitions from the bourgeoisie. There is no doubt that criminal elements of all kinds, upon sensing the opportunities at hand, quickly attached themselves onto the groups, and under the banner of anarchism began the systematic expropriation of shops, warehouses and private residences. While some of these groups accepted the Moscow Federation of Anarchist Groups as the central uniting organisation, others did not, and despite professing adherence to the anarchist cause, many of the Black Guards had no conception of anarchism as an ideology. ⁽⁸³⁾

What made the situation worse, at least as far as the Bolsheviks were concerned, was that the Moscow Federation, while aware of the existence of groups which were no more than criminal enterprises hiding behind the name of anarchism, appeared to condone them and took no practical steps to disown them publicly, with the exception of a half-hearted repudiation in the middle of March 1918.⁽⁸⁴⁾ On the contrary, the doors of the central anarchist headquarters, Dom Anarkhii, were kept open to all and sundry, and all the possessions of the former Merchants' Club were declared to belong to anyone who needed to make use of them.

By the spring of 1918 the Moscow Federation's headquarters had become synonymous with the criminal

underworld, a centre for illegal activities of all kinds. Newspapers began to report the excesses of expropriation that were occurring in the name of anarchism.⁽⁸⁵⁾ In some places the stolen goods were openly given away to the local populace, and money was used to buy food so as to prepare cheap dinners in the Dom Anarkhii.⁽⁸⁶⁾ Things began to reach scandalous proportions when, at the beginning of April, several anarchists raided the warehouse of a Moscow trading company and seized a large quantity of opium. The incident was reported to the Cheka and under Dzerzhinskii's orders the Hotel Metropol', where the gang had housed themselves, was searched. As well as the opium, several bombs, revolvers and a large sum of money was found.⁽⁸⁷⁾ Still worse, in the eyes of the Bolsheviks, were reported incidents of anarchists who, not content with robbing the bourgeoisie, had turned their attention to the warehouses and offices of the new proletarian state.⁽⁸⁸⁾

Allied to this apparent contempt for property and the rule of law, the anarchists in Moscow further infuriated the Bolsheviks by their propaganda of destruction. As the Bolshevik leadership attempted to establish a new labour discipline they were faced with a fair degree of "spontaneous anarchism", in the shape of absenteeism or lateness for work on a mass scale. Direct sabotage also took place, acts which were often encouraged by the more extreme anarchist communists. One of the most influential Moscow anarchists, Lev Chernyi, argued that each should be allowed to establish his own working day. "The time of the starting

and stopping of work at factories will depend on the economic considerations of each person", Chernyi proclaimed.⁽⁸⁹⁾ And in Petrograd, the leader of the anarchists at the Novyi Lessner factory called on the workers to rob shops and destroy houses. "Decide all questions for yourself", he declared. "There is no bread - so what are your hands for? ... They exist to take everything there is. Go to the shops and take the bread ... There is no firewood - saw up the wooden houses for your firewood, and move into the houses on Nevskii."⁽⁹⁰⁾

This last quote suggests that the terror was not restricted to Moscow alone. At least up until the shift of capital to Moscow, Petrograd remained a stronghold for anarchist communists, although their exploits did not match those of their comrades in Moscow. Probably the most notorious act was the seizure of the private residence of a millionaire, Gintsburg, on Vasil'evskii island. The property therein, which included many valuable paintings and tapestries, was removed.⁽⁹¹⁾ Like the Moscow Black Guards, the terrorists in Petrograd were easily identifiable by the surfeit of weaponry they carried about their person. At a small congress held by the Petrograd anarchists in January 1918, a bomb carried by one of those present accidentally went off, resulting in several serious injuries.⁽⁹²⁾ A good proportion of the members of the Petrograd groups (and their weaponry) came from the city's barracks. Two hotbeds were the Second Baltic Fleet, where Zhelezniakov's elder brother

led a large bandit gang, and a detachment of around 500 sailors who returned to Kronstadt from the Ukraine in December 1917.⁽⁹³⁾

Outside of the two capitals, information on the terrorist activities of the anarchists is scanty, but nevertheless serves to form a picture of contempt for the local authorities. In the very first week of Soviet power, the Samara group of anarchist communists occupied the building of the bourgeois newspaper Volzhskii Den' and forced the typesetters to print a proclamation calling for the seizure of factories and an armed uprising. But the local revolutionary committee had ordered that the building be used to house the soviet, and though the anarchists gave way at the appearance of an armed detachment of Red Guards, they warned, "We will never hold ourselves responsible to the revolutionary committee, in the elections of which we played no part."⁽⁹⁴⁾ Anarchist groups in towns such as Rostov, Ekaterinoslav and Briansk set about releasing all the prisoners in the town gaols, thereby creating havoc in the neighbourhood.⁽⁹⁵⁾ Large-scale robberies were reported in Samara, Astrakhan and Voronezh,⁽⁹⁶⁾ while powerfully-armed anarchist detachments are known to have held sway at various times in Odessa, Elizavetgrad, Melitopol', Feodosiia and Gorodets (Nizhnyi Novgorod guberniia).⁽⁹⁷⁾

While it is true that much of this activity was the result of local bands applying the creed of anarchism to their own ends (as had been the case after 1905), nevertheless there is no doubt that the spokesmen for

the anarchist communist branch of the ideology had reconfirmed their faith in propaganda by deed, albeit in a less extreme form than in the first Russian revolution. In Moscow and Petrograd, while the anarcho-syndicalists basically limited themselves to peaceful propaganda, the anarchist communists, most of whom were open opponents of Soviet power, called for an immediate armed uprising against the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We have already quoted several examples of anarchist speeches reported in newspapers which were aggressively directed against the Bolsheviks, and which called for the masses to take matters into their own hands. Bleikhman, who by dint of being a delegate to the factory committee conferences enjoyed a wide audience, continued to call for all property to be expropriated, every building passing into the hands of those who worked or lived there. At the First All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions, Bleikhman accused the Bolsheviks of hypocrisy in their condemnation of such seizures. Were they, the "Smolniki-statists", not daily sequestering and confiscating private establishments? What, Bleikhman demanded to know, was the difference?⁽⁹⁸⁾ Justification of terror and expropriations, a throw-back to the terrorists of a decade ago, once again began to appear in anarchist newspapers. Burevestnik even tried to establish "theoretically" the inevitability of the participation of criminal elements in anarchist groups.⁽⁹⁹⁾

Not surprisingly, the anarcho-syndicalists despaired both of the excesses being carried out in the name of

anarchism, and of those of their comrades who were prepared to condone them. Literature began to appear appealing to the public not to reassociate anarchism with terror and crime, but it was a losing battle.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ The result of this ill-feeling between the two factions, as so often before, was that they failed to unite and agree on a common tactical programme. Makhno was now joined by such anarchists as Voline in believing that the anarchists had to organise to compete with the Bolsheviks, and had to accept some form of centre which would bind the movement together. But the "purists", the anarchist communists in particular, were unwilling to commit themselves to any form of leadership duties, and insisted on retaining the principle of decentralisation to the end. A combination of these factors meant that no all-Russian congress of anarchists, set first for December in Khar'kov, and then for January 1918 in Petrograd, ever met.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ The two wings managed to hold separate conferences later in 1918, but by then it was too little too late to save the anarchist movement.

* * * * *

It is difficult to know whether, in the absence of the anarchist armed detachments, the Bolsheviks would have moved so swiftly against the anarchists after October. It is true that prior to the seizure of power, and particularly in the period August-October 1917, the Bolsheviks and anarchists, while having fundamental ideological disagreements, were allies

to the extent that they shared a desire to bring down the Provisional Government. But it did not take the new Russian leaders long to discover that most of the anarchists were bent on opposing Bolshevik policy in several key areas, and that many were calling openly for a third revolution to overthrow the Bolsheviks. As the winter of 1917-1918 drew on even if they had been prepared to ignore the excesses of the terrorists, it is doubtful whether the Bolsheviks' patience towards the propaganda activities of the anarchists would have been extended for much longer beyond April 1918.

It is certainly the case that, with the exception of the few "Soviet anarchists" such as Shatov and Zhuk, the Bolsheviks' comradely feelings towards the anarchists began to wane rapidly very soon after October. The anarchists were effectively divided into three categories by the Bolsheviks: those who supported Soviet power, those who "wavered", and those, whom they rightly considered to be the majority, who were opposed to it.⁽¹⁰²⁾ In fairness to the anarchists, many of them were prepared to support temporarily the dictatorship of the proletariat in the case of real external threats to the survival of the revolution in Russia, and so some joined Red Guard detachments that were sent to the front against Krasnov. Despite the fact that they were opponents of the state, the revolution turned out to be more important than their ideological beliefs.⁽¹⁰³⁾ But others, most notably the Moscow anarchists, remained irresolute opponents, and there is even evidence that the Moscow Federation

forged links with the Whites to attempt to bring down the Bolsheviks.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

Evidence of the Bolsheviks' dislike of the anarchist presence in Russia was not long in coming. From November, Pravda began to regularly publish articles and correspondence in its pages from various regions on clashes between Bolsheviks and anarchists. The newspaper also duly reported speeches made against the anarchists, such as that made by Lenin at the Extraordinary All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Peasant Deputies, where he made a clear distinction between socialists and anarchists, since the latter had decided to come out against the dictatorship of the proletariat.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

The real warning signs for the anarchists began to appear from the beginning of 1918. In early January, when a number of opposition newspapers were closed down, Anarkhiia protested vehemently against this removal of the freedom of the press, sensing that its turn was soon to come.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ A few days later the Bolsheviks' short patience with the activities of the anarchists revealed itself at the First All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions. The resolution on the demobilisation of industry lumped the anarchists together with the capitalists as wreckers. Bleikhman's objection to this as "stupidness which smells too counterrevolutionary" was overruled by the Presidium.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ In an earlier debate, where Bleikhman had lashed out against bourgeois specialists, the Bolshevik Alekseev accused the anarchists of being in the revolution only

for what material gains they could get out of it. "But, comrades", he warned, "such anarchism does not please us", and he termed Bleikhman's speech "not anarchism, but pure disorder".⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ Later, Maksimov's speech against the trade unions led to Veinberg's reply that anyone who was against the trade unions had to be by definition against the soviets. Veinberg wanted to know which workers applauded such "comrades", but he suspected that they were not workers of long standing, presumably a veiled reference to the anarchists' support amongst the peasant workers in some areas of the country.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾

Immediately after the Congress, preliminary action began against the anarchists. The Petrograd Soviet discussed the question of the anarchists' expropriation of private residences, and declared on January 30 that such acts were forbidden and should cease immediately. Three days later the same topic was discussed at a plenary session of the Soviet, where a resolution categorically forbade such acts of seizure, promising the most serious measures against any groups disobeying the order. Because of its calls for terrorism and banditism, Burevestnik was put in the same category as "pogrom" newspapers by the Soviet.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

Yet, despite this forewarning, the situation in Petrograd does not appear to have been as serious as in Moscow, at least judging from the Cheka. As the Cheka deputy, Peters, put it in a conversation with a newspaper correspondent in November 1918, "In Moscow we clashed with what had been a movement less wide-

spread in Petrograd - a thick net of anarchist groups openly operating ... They saw themselves as some sort of second parallel power to Soviet power: they gave out orders, had their Black Guard etc.." (111)

In the conditions in Moscow at that time the Bolsheviks had no patience at all with the activities of the Black Guards, who as well as creating in the new capital a situation of anxiety and loss of faith in law and order, were actively undermining the authority of the Soviet power. Shortly after its arrival in Moscow, the Cheka warned that it was determined to "struggle for the complete safety and personal immunity of the body and belongings of citizens from tyranny and from violent, self-willed aggressors and bandits, robbers, hooligans and common swindlers who dare to hide themselves behind anarchists, Red Guards and members of other revolutionary organisations." (112)

The excuse that the Bolshevik leadership needed to rid Moscow of the Black Guards came on April 9, when an anarchist detachment stole a car belonging to Colonel Ro**b**ins, the US Red Cross representative. As a result, a decision was made to raid twenty-six anarchist nests in the city on the night of April 11-12. (113) The accounts of the Bolshevik raids differ in detail, but it appears around forty people were killed on both sides as a result of the shoot-outs that took place. By noon on the 12th, around 800 people had been arrested. (114) A genuine pitched battle took place at three of the anarchists' expropriated homes, including Dom Anarkhii, where the

residents employed machine-guns and a cannon in an attempt to dispel the Cheka forces. The Bolshevik operation appears to have been completed everywhere by the early afternoon of the 13th. A special commission sat in the Kremlin to try those arrested, and over the following three days they were led out at a set time onto one of the squares of the Kremlin, where witnesses were invited to identify those considered to be criminals.

Those arrested were described as "a motley crew: there were many women and children and also raw youths still wearing their high school uniforms."⁽¹¹⁵⁾ All sources are agreed that a number were notorious criminals. According to Dzerzhinskii, who had headed the meeting of the Moscow Soviet of Commissars where the raids were planned, the crime rate in Moscow decreased by eighty per cent following the liquidation of the "rotten centres of treason and counterrevolution."⁽¹¹⁶⁾ Those without a criminal record (the vast majority) were released a few days *after* the arrests. The two major Moscow anarchist newspapers, Anarkhiia and Golos Truda, were temporarily closed down.⁽¹¹⁷⁾

The action taken against the anarchists was immediately followed by a flurry of justifications from the Bolsheviks. An official statement from the Moscow Soviet of Commissars appeared in Pravda on April 13, claiming that the anarchists had been housing "an entire group of revolutionaries", with the result that the Soviet had been forced to take action to disarm the anarchists.⁽¹¹⁸⁾ The following day Trotsky outlined his

distinction between so-called "ideological" (ideinye) anarchists and all others, who were criminals. He told his audience, "Anarchism is an idea, although a mistaken one, but hooliganism is hooliganism, and we told the anarchists: you must draw a strict line between yourselves and the burglars". Trotsky went on to give his full support to the arrests, and he gave a clear warning to those anarchists still at large: "If you want to live together with us on the principles of common labour, then submit with us to the common soviet discipline of the labouring class, but if you put yourselves in our way, then don't blame us, if the labour government, the soviet power, handles you without kid gloves." (119)

This distinction between "banditism", which the soviet power had decided to put a stop to, and "ideological anarchism", was one that was made again by Sverdlov at a session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on April 15, when Ge had lodged a formal protest on behalf of the anarchists. At that session Ge demanded that "in view of the fact that this act has huge political significance, that our comrades have been shot at, and that a large number of them are now sitting in prisons in horrific, disgusting conditions, I introduce onto the immediate agenda a suggestion that we speed up the investigation into the question of the routing of the anarchist organisations in Moscow." (120) Three days later, at another session, Zaks, the Cheka agent responsible for the rounding up of the anarchists, declared that the "ideological"

anarchists had been forewarned of the need to purge themselves of criminal elements, a warning which they had chosen to ignore. Indeed, some forty wanted criminals had been amongst those arrested, and 20,000 roubles had been recovered.⁽¹²¹⁾

Not surprisingly, the anarchists elsewhere were furious at the Moscow arrests. Burevestnik, the day after the raids, proclaimed that the Bolsheviks "have lost their senses. They have betrayed the proletariat and attacked the anarchists ... They have declared war on revolutionary anarchism." The article went on to accuse the Bolsheviks of being traitors, Cains who had killed their brothers, and Judases, betrayers.⁽¹²²⁾ But those accusations against the Bolsheviks were of no avail, since the leadership had decided to move quickly to rid Russia of the anarchist movement. That the job was carried out so smoothly was a final indictment on the anarchists' chronic organisational shortcomings.

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A resolution from the Petrograd Soviet applauding the actions of Moscow and calling for "rigorous discipline" was followed with the disarming of the Petrograd anarchists on the night of April 22-23. A regiment of Latvian sharpshooters was used to remove the arms and ammunition from the anarchist clubs in the city, and although arrested anarchists (Bleikhman included) were released as soon as their identity had

been established, the third major anarchist newspaper, Burevestnik, was closed down. Once again the authorities claimed to be involved in no struggle against "ideological anarchism". But Uritskii was by now convinced that "what we have to face now as a so-called anarchist movement is something that has very little to do with anarchism as an ideological movement... We are now facing something altogether different." (123)

Throughout the late spring and summer of 1918, reports reached the capitals of arrests of anarchists, often not without an armed struggle. In Voronezh, artillery was brought in to crush the anarchists after a bloody battle left dead and wounded on both sides. Soon after the anarchists were cleared out of the Hotel Evropa in Vologda by a detachment of armed Red Guards. The routing of the Kazan and Smolensk anarchists followed at the beginning of May. The most serious incidents occurred in Samara, where the local soviet had come under the control of anarchists and SR Maximalists at the end of April. The anarchist groups there were disarmed some two weeks later, (124) Finally, on May 10, 1918, a telegram from the Commissariat of Internal Affairs was sent to all soviets throughout the country. It stated: "The experience of Moscow, Petrograd and other cities has shown that under the protective flag of anarchist organisations operate thugs, thieves, gangsters, hold-up men and counterrevolutionaries who are actively preparing to subvert the Soviet government ... All the anarchist squads and organisations are to be disarmed." (125)

It may well have been the case that the Bolshevik leadership at this time genuinely intended, as Uritskii promised, "never to combat anarchism as a movement based upon and proceeding from ideas",⁽¹²⁶⁾ although, given their record on freedom of speech and the press in the months following October, this seems doubtful. Either way, the most important fact was that the Bolsheviks, using the argument that whoever was for the revolution was for them, and whoever was not for them was for the counterrevolution, were now free to decide who was a genuine anarchist and who was a hooligan, a distinction which they soon chose to ignore in any case, when the two terms became synonymous in the eyes of the Cheka. The arrests of the terrorists within the anarchist movement turned out to be no more than an excuse to clamp down on the movement as a whole. From a position of informal alliance prior to October, within six months the anarchists had become "the first political opponents of the Communists to be victims of an organised attack."⁽¹²⁷⁾

CONCLUSION

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Despite Trotsky's line that Soviet power had at last "with its iron broom swept anarchism out of Russia",⁽¹⁾ in fact in the summer of 1918 the Bolsheviki were only able to intimidate and not destroy the anarchist movement in Russia. The fate of the movement after May 1918, however, is beyond the scope of this work, and insofar as it represents the struggle by the anarchists for survival in Bolshevik Russia it will be dealt with summarily. Following on from this, the conclusion aims to recap briefly the main points made in the previous chapters: the reasons for the dramatic appearance of anarchist groups in Russia in the two revolutionary periods, an assessment of their support in the country, and an explanation as to why the movement failed to capitalise more on the favourable situation created by the upheavals in 1905 and 1917.

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After the arrests in April and May, many anarchists fled south to the Ukraine, the traditional anarchist stronghold. Others remained in Petrograd and Moscow and attempted to continue their propaganda activity. In August 1918 the Petrograd anarcho-syndicalists were given permission to establish Vol'nyi Golos Truda in Moscow, the successor to Golos Truda. Edited by Maksimov and Iarchuk, the journal took up an anti-Bolshevik stance, and was instrumental in convening the anarcho-syndicalists' first All-Russian Conference in Moscow at the end of August.⁽²⁾ To the extent that

a second conference was organised at the end of November, the anarcho-syndicalists showed themselves at this late stage to be as keen as ever to unite the movement. But their efforts after the second conference broke up led to little of substance. Vol'nyi Golos Truda was closed by the Bolsheviks after four issues, leaving the capital once again bereft of organised anarchist propaganda, and at the end of the year the delegates to the second conference were arrested.⁽³⁾

Relations between the two wings, despite the arrests and harrassment from the Bolsheviks, barely improved. Anarchist communist groups from the central and northern regions of Russia met for a conference in Briansk in August 1918, where they continued to support their old demands, tactics and form of organisation.⁽⁴⁾ The first (and only) All-Russian Congress of Anarchist Communists met in Moscow at the end of December 1918. Representatives came from 15 guberniias, and the congress secretary, Karelin, put the number of all anarchists who had connections with it at three thousand. There was little agreement on what position to adopt towards Soviet power, and no resolutions were taken.⁽⁵⁾

1919 and 1920 saw various attempts made by anarchists in Petrograd and Moscow to unite the two factions of the movement, but they floundered on the traditional unwillingness to compromise on crucial tactical points. These years also saw further anarchist journals and newspapers, but even those that adopted a neutral stance towards the Soviet regime had a short-lived existence.⁽⁶⁾

Some anarchists, it must be said, either attempted to come to terms with the new regime or else agreed to bury their ideological differences with the Bolsheviks to ward off the counterrevolution during the civil war in Russia. These "Soviet anarchists" were mostly anarcho-syndicalists, such as Shatov and Schipiro, but they also included anarchist communists such as Grossman-Roshchin and Sandomirskii.⁽⁷⁾ Some, like Zhelezniakov, distinguished themselves as civil war heroes, while others openly declared their support for the dictatorship of the proletariat in its fight against the Whites.⁽⁸⁾ Thus Novomirskii, who actually joined the Communist Party in 1919, declared that whatever faction the anarchist chose to belong to "you will inevitably end up knocking on the door of the Russian Communist Party if you genuinely stand for the workers and for the revolution."⁽⁹⁾ Indeed, figures for Bolshevik party membership for 1922 showed 633 former anarchists who had joined the party.⁽¹⁰⁾

Much resentment was shown by the rest of the movement towards these "Soviet anarchists".⁽¹¹⁾ A refusal on their part to compromise with the Bolsheviks in any way led predictably to the formation of underground terrorist groups after April 1918 in many regions of Russia.⁽¹²⁾ Reminiscent of the detachments formed in 1906 to "defend the gains" made by the revolution, many of them formed alliances with Left SR groups. It was these latter groups in Moscow which were responsible for the assassination of the German ambassador Mirbach and the subsequent attempted mutiny in July 1918.⁽¹³⁾

The repressive measures subsequently taken by the Bolsheviks merely served to drive the anarchist terrorist groups further underground. Towards the end of the year Black Guards who had avoided arrest in April formed the Underground Anarchists in Moscow. The group, which included Lev Chernyi in its membership, was formed by Kovalevich, a railway worker, and a Ukrainian, Petr Sobolev.⁽¹⁴⁾ It was this group, together with Left SRs, which was responsible for the worst terrorist excess by anarchists after 1917 - the bombing of the Moscow Committee of the Communist Party in Leontiev Street, September 25, 1919. The explosion killed 12 and wounded 55, including Bukharin and Iaroslavskii.⁽¹⁵⁾

Not surprisingly, the Bolsheviks swore revenge, and though the bombing was condemned publicly by several leading anarchists, new arrests followed in its wake.⁽¹⁶⁾ Elsewhere, the anarchist groups carried out robberies in Samara, Saratov, Tsaritsyn and other towns along the Volga, frequently clashing with the local soviets.⁽¹⁷⁾

A bigger problem to the Bolshevik leadership, however, was the activity of Nestor Makhno in the Ukraine. This activity lies outside the scope of this study and has in any case been well documented in a recent study of Makhno's military exploits in the civil war.⁽¹⁸⁾ Here, we merely note briefly the main points of interest.

With the exception of Voline, who left to join Makhno after the signing of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, no major anarchist from the capitals teamed up with Makhno until the end of 1918, once again revealing their inability to seize the opportunity to spread the anarchist word in the Ukraine.⁽¹⁹⁾ Makhno returned to Gulai-Pole in August 1918, where he organised a small underground anarchist group consisting mostly of comrades from 1905. From then Makhno's rise to peasant leader was swift. He briefly held Ekaterinoslav from Petliura's men at the end of 1918, and by January 1919 boasted an army of almost 30,000 warriors.⁽²⁰⁾

Anarchists played little part in Makhno's military successes, but Voline did manage to create a Ukrainian anarchist confederation, Nabat, in November 1918, which consisted of small groups of anarchists who infiltrated the ranks of Makhno's army and whipped up anti-Soviet sentiment. In the spring of 1919, a number of anarchist newspapers, some edited by Voline and Arshinov, were produced in Khar'kov and other Ukrainian towns, and in April Nabat held a congress in Elizavetgrad. The tone of the resolutions taken was one of uncompromising hostility towards the Bolsheviks, and though Makhno's army had been combined into Dybenko's Soviet division in February, it split away in May and declared itself to be independent.⁽²¹⁾

It was from here that events speeded up for the anarchists in the Ukraine. In the autumn of 1919, Makhno attempted to put anarchist ideas into practice

by creating a "powerless state" and a standing army based on a concept of "voluntary mobilisation". The attempt failed, resulting instead in a regime of tyranny and arbitrary violence. Throughout 1920 Makhno fought a losing battle against the encroaching Bolshevik armies. Makhno fled to Rumania in 1921.⁽²²⁾ The extent to which his followers can be said to have been anarchists is debatable, but certainly Makhno considered himself to be one, and his army did provide a temporary refuge for leading anarchists from Moscow and Petrograd.

That the refuge was only temporary was clear as from the beginning of 1919. Despite Bolshevik assurances that only criminal anarchists, and not so-called "ideological" ones, were being treated as counter-revolutionaries, throughout 1919 anarchist groups in the Ukraine were suppressed and their newspapers closed down. Indeed, by July, following Trotsky's order, all anarchist publications, except those classified as "loyal" to the regime, were banned.⁽²³⁾ Once the connections between the Leontiev Street bombers and Makhno had been established, and once Nabat, at its various conferences, had made clear its virulent opposition to Soviet power, it was only a matter of time before Bolshevik patience ran out.

Thus, despite a military and political pact between the Soviet Government and Makhno's army, the leaders of the Nabat confederation were taken by surprise in November 1920 and arrested in Khar'kov. From there they were sent to the Taganka and Butyrki prisons in

Moscow.⁽²⁴⁾ After the Kronstadt events, further arrests of anarchists occurred throughout Soviet Russia, signalling the end of any hope or organised anarchist opposition in the country.⁽²⁵⁾ Those anarchists who escaped arrest either abandoned the ideology and attempted to come to terms with Lenin's New Economic Policy, or else, as they had done in 1906, fled to the *émigré* sanctuaries in the West.⁽²⁶⁾

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Those anarchists who found refuge in the major cities of Western Europe continued to propagate the anarchist ideology via a series of publications. Much of the material in these books and journals concerned itself with an assessment of the events in 1917 and the anarchists' role in them. Not surprisingly, the articles carried an air of deep pessimism both towards the path that Soviet Russia was adopting and towards the anarchists' failure to prevent the country from following this path.

As if to exonerate themselves from any blame, anarchists after 1917 restressed the fundamental differences between anarchism and Marxism, (now classified as Marxism-Leninism). Voline, for instance, accused the Bolsheviks of having stolen anarchist slogans in 1917 so as to "deceive the masses and mislead them into an evil course".⁽²⁷⁾ The anarchists had interpreted slogans such as the social revolution, an end to the war, and workers' control in the "correct"

way, reflecting the genuine desires of the masses, but their voice had been drowned out by the false promises of the Bolshevik leadership.⁽²⁸⁾

This belief in the Bolshevik deception of the masses in 1917 presupposed, however, that many of the anarchists themselves fell prey to the "libertarian" promises made by Lenin and his comrades. Yet anarchist activists in Russia should have been in no doubt that ideologically a great chasm existed between the two groups of revolutionaries, a chasm that Lenin repeatedly emphasised throughout his political life - the anarchists' rejection of any form of revolutionary government, even the dictatorship of the proletariat. Further, the consequence of the 1917 revolution demonstrated clearly the special emphasis placed by Lenin on the primacy of the economic forces of production as a determinant in changing society, to the ultimate detriment of the anarchist vision of man freed from the confines of state power.⁽²⁹⁾ Finally, some anarchists came to accept, in the circumstances of Russia in the civil war, that some state structure, however organised, was essential if the revolution were to be saved. In this respect, neither they nor "the masses" could be said to have been deceived by Bolshevik calls for revolutionary discipline in the wake of the threat from the White armies.

Aside from the behaviour of the Bolsheviks, anarchists came to glorify 1917 as a spontaneous explosion of popular discontent which closely resembled the notion of an anarchist social revolution. With the benefit

of hindsight, anarchist writers in emigration went to great lengths to trace the elements of spontaneity and "natural enthusiasm" in the Russian masses after the abdication of Nicholas.⁽³⁰⁾ Some argued that the actions of the proletariat and peasantry in 1917 were closer to the spirit of Bakunin than Lenin, and that the social forces behind the revolution were more truly anarchist rather than Marxist.⁽³¹⁾ Others noted especially the decentralist tendencies in workers' organisations before and after October, ascribing them to syndicalist forces nascent in the Russian working class.⁽³²⁾ And all agreed that the actions taken by the workers and peasants in the early months of 1917 had been prompted purely by overwhelming "economic" demands, which no political party could claim to have fostered or predicted.

Indeed, this assessment of the events of 1917 is one that has been echoed by Western scholars sympathetic to the Russian anarchists. Avrich, for instance, claimed that in 1917 it was the anarcho-syndicalists who came closest to the Russian workers' radical spirit.⁽³³⁾ They have also pointed out the "ripeness" of Russia for such an anarchist social revolution, without, however, attempting to analyse in detail the bases of potential support for an anarchist movement in Russia.

For, as this study has attempted to show, it would be wrong to claim that Russia as a whole was a potential recruiting ground for the development of anarchism in the two revolutionary periods.⁽³⁴⁾ While

the objective conditions both in 1905 and in 1917 can be said to have provided favourable ground for the expression of anarchist sentiments, it does not follow that the anarchists themselves were responsible for their inculcation. Rather, the appearance of anarchist groups in Russia came as the result of disillusionment and demoralisation in a special type of social environment. As we have seen, susceptibility to the revolutionary preaching of the anarchist activists could be found in definite strata of the Russian people. The anarchist denial of the state in any form and the propagation of a decentralised organisation of society appealed specifically to those sections of society threatened by the furtherance of large-scale capitalist development or the imposition of socialised forms of economic production. That the aspirations of these sections, as Kaplan has argued,⁽³⁵⁾ were nothing more than the reflection of bourgeois individualism is an exaggeration, but the evidence does suggest that they were hostile to Marxist socialism and favoured the retention of factories and land in their own hands, thereby posing a direct threat to Bolshevik control of the economy. Thus, in those areas where anarchist ideas were propagated, support for the ideology could be found amongst those sections that faced most directly the threat of economic ruin - the displaced peasantry forced either into the armed forces or into factory employment in the towns; small artisans in imminent danger of being swallowed up by more efficient, centralised production methods; and Russia's unemployed, vagabonds and

criminal fraternity - the lumpenproletariat - who were especially susceptible to the calls for terrorist activity from the more extreme wing of the movement, the anarchist communists. While all these elements were present constantly before 1917, the onset of the world war brought an influx of newly-urbanised peasants and artisans into the factories, thereby intensifying the prospects for the growth of both anarchist communism and anarcho-syndicalism after the overthrow of the autocracy.

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Yet, even by their own standards, the anarchists failed to capitalise on this potential support in the two revolutions. While few anarchists listed paucity of numbers as a major reason for their swift disappearance after both revolutions, most pointed to the anarchists' failure to create and sustain mass organisations, or, in the case of the anarcho-syndicalists, to anarchists' refusal to infiltrate and take part in the workers' organisations formed out of the revolutionary events. As a result, as Voline put it, "The Anarchist ideas, though they were broadcast energetically by a few 'transmitters', were 'lost in the air' without being received effectively". (36)

As other commentators, notably Soviet ones, have pointed out, there were other reasons for the anarchists' failure to remain a political force, particularly

after 1917. One of these stresses the very nature of anarchist ideology, with its fundamental rejection of political power.⁽³⁷⁾ Thus, even if the anarchists had taken part in and won some democratic election, they would have been doomed to reject their theory in favour of taking, and then retaining, power. In point of fact, the evidence shows that few anarchists thought along these lines in 1917. Although some became converted to the idea of helping the new Soviet state to survive the onslaught of civil war, most followed Arshinov's line that "if it were possible to fight power with power, Anarchism would have no reason to exist".⁽³⁸⁾ They saw themselves in permanent opposition to any centralised state authority.

Another reason put forward is that of the utopian nature of the anarchist vision. Avrich, for instance, has pointed to the anarchists' inability to face up to the realities of an emergent industrial society in the twentieth century.⁽³⁹⁾ Their very appeal, however, lay just in this "vague messianism". Indeed, both Bolsheviks and anarchists were carried away by the events in 1917 and shared equally utopian visions of the future society in a country that was still predominantly peasant based - in this respect they only differed over the means to be employed to achieve this end.⁽⁴⁰⁾

A third reason is that "the success of the Bolshevik Revolution", as Avrich puts it, "deprived the anarchists of much of their support, both within the rank and file

of the labour movement and among the intellectuals".⁽⁴¹⁾ There is certainly no doubt that the October revolution stole much of the thunder (and support) of the anarchists, and their views on such matters as the factory committees and the revolutionary war, given the precariousness of the Soviet state in its early days, did serve to isolate them from the "mainstream" of revolutionary thought after 1917. But though this may be a necessary reason to cite, it is not a sufficient one, for it fails to account for the swift disappearance of anarchist influence and support both after 1905 and after 1917.

This study has also noted two other reasons for the anarchists' failure to tap their potential sources of support. One was the persistent use of terror as a tactic which, particularly in the period after 1905, served to narrow the border between the "genuine" anarchist and the straightforward bandit or robber. Indeed, a criminal element attached to the anarchist movement was ever present after February 1917, and instead of attempting to disown themselves from their practices, many anarchists tacitly condoned their lawless behaviour both before and after October. This in turn led both to a degree of moral bankruptcy within the movement and to feelings of antipathy towards the anarchists from large sections of Russian society, who rightly felt it impossible to distinguish the point where the activity of the anarchist ended and that of the criminal began.

Lastly, there was the ideological split within the movement, the internal disagreements over fundamental tactical points (one of which, of course, was the above-mentioned use of terror) between the anarchist communists and the anarcho-syndicalists. Although all anarchists were united on such basic tenets as opposition to the state, a number of tactical disputes served to create two major wings within the movement. Even in 1917 the anarcho-syndicalists enjoyed less influence than their anarchist communist comrades, and part of this must be explained by the former's noticeably more "European" outlook, forged by at least a decade of emigration in the West. As a result, the anarcho-syndicalists proved themselves, especially in their attempts to fashion the course of the factory committees, to be more discriminating in their methods than the anarchist communists, who continued to employ the terrorist, overtly militant tactics of the first revolution. By and large, the anarcho-syndicalists were prepared, in the light of events, to take a more conciliatory approach to the prospect of a Bolshevik revolution in 1917, but in doing so they merely furthered the development of the internal contradictions within the movement as a whole.

The mass of Russian people, however, were incapable of seeing any real difference between the two strands of anarchist thought, and, at least in the period February-October, 1917, between anarchism and Bolshevism.

Further, the activities of the anarchists in the 1905 revolution remained fresh in the memories of the population, and despite their excuse that they arrived late on the revolutionary scene in 1917, it is doubtful that the anarcho-syndicalists could have altered substantially the image of the anarchist movement as a hotch-potch of small groups and individuals scattered around the towns of Russia, their independent stance witness not so much to the dimensions of the movement as to its organisational weakness.

So the major stumbling block for the anarchists remained the organisational one. Despite their frequent public attempts at unity, most Russian anarchists showed themselves to be highly individualistic revolutionaries, who found it difficult to compromise their own wills in the face of an organised movement. As we have seen, anarchists themselves were well aware of this dilemma after 1905, but showed themselves incapable, both in emigration and upon their return to Russia in 1917, of forming a strong organisational base from which to operate. While it remains true, given the nature of the regimes, that both the tsarist autocracy and the Soviet state would not long tolerate the presence of anarchist propaganda, had that propaganda work been more systematically undertaken, the task of removing the anarchists from Russia would have been made considerably more difficult for both the Okhrana and the Cheka.

To sum up, the Russian anarchists, by the very nature of their ideology, were destined to "fail" in the conventional sense of that word when applied to political movements. This study has concentrated itself instead on an attempt to locate the appeal of anarchist propaganda in a country where large sections of society were bound to be on the losing end of any form of industrialisation and economic modernisation. It is no accident to find that many anarchists throughout the period of this study appeared more afraid of the establishment of a Marxist-based, centralised state socialism, than of the retention of the capitalist mode of production in Russia.

The revolutionary events in Russia in this period provided the anarchists with the opportunity to play a role totally disproportionate to their small numbers, and this was borne out particularly in Petrograd in the summer and autumn of 1917, where anarchists vied directly with Bolsheviks for the same dissatisfied elements in the factories and barracks. As Woodcock has put it, with reference to the anarchists in the Ukraine after 1917, "That the Bolsheviks should have fought it (anarchism) so fiercely and so treacherously suggests that, in the south at least, they regarded it as a real danger to their own ascendancy."⁽⁴²⁾ And even Soviet writers have been forced to admit that the anarchist schemes for the quick realisation of communist principles could have found definite support in large sections of the Russian population, given the mood of desperation and hopelessness in 1917.

Yet, it has been argued here, even when conditions were most favourable for the spread of anarchist propaganda amongst these sections of society, in 1905 and 1917, the anarchists failed to seize their opportunity, thereby condemning the movement to a passing, short-lived existence in revolutionary Russia.

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1. P. Avrich The Russian Anarchists (Princeton University Press, 1967); P. Avrich The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution (London, 1973). The second of these is a collection of anarchist newspaper articles and proclamations from February, 1917 onwards, edited and commented on by Avrich.
2. The best known works are P. Arshinov History of The Makhnovist Movement, 1918-1921 (Solidarity/Red and Black, 1974); G. P. Maksimov The Guillotine at Work (Chicago, 1940); Voline (V. M. Eikhenbaum) The Unknown Revolution, 1917-1921 (New York, 1974).
3. However, as all concern themselves principally with the fate of the anarchists under Bolshevik rule, they are in fact less useful for the period before 1917.
4. All these works appear in the bibliography of this dissertation. Those worth mentioning here are the general works: I. L. Horowitz The Anarchists (New York, 1964); J. Joll The Anarchists (London, 1964); G. Woodcock Anarchism (Penguin, 1975); and on Kropotkin in particular: M. A. Miller (ed.) Selected Writings on Anarchism and Revolution: P. A. Kropotkin (M.I.T., 1970); E. Capouya and K. Tomkins (ed.) The Essential Kropotkin (MacMillan, 1975); M. A. Miller Kropotkin (University of Chicago Press, 1976).

5. Between 1932 and 1960 only one work on the Russian anarchists appeared in the Soviet Union, E.

Iaroslavskii Istoriia anarkhizma v Rossii (Moscow, 1937). Making its appearance to coincide with the Spanish Civil War (it was translated into English, Spanish and German), this work is the nadir of Soviet, indeed any, writing on the anarchists. The best recent works are: E. M. Kornoukhov "Deiatel'nost' partii bol'shevikov po razoblacheniiu melkoburzhuaaznoi revoliutsionnosti anarkhistov v period podgotovki i pobedy oktiabria" in Iz istorii bor'by leninskoii partii protiv opportunistizma (Moscow, 1966); L. A. Kuzina "Iz istorii bor'by bol'shevikov protiv anarkhistov v period podgotovki oktiabr'skoi revoliutsii" in Lenin, partiia oktiabr' (Leningrad, 1967); S. N. Kanev "Krakh russkogo anarkhizma" in Voprosy istorii 1968, No.9; L. M. Spirin Klassy i partii v grazhdanskoi voine v Rossii (1917-1920gg.) (Moscow, 1968); V. V. Komin Anarkhizm v Rossii (Kalinin, 1969); M. Khudaikulov Bor'ba kommunisticheskoi partii protiv anarkhizma v period stanovleniia i uprocheniia sovetskoi vlasti (oktiabr' 1917-1918) (Moscow, 1969); M. Khudaikulov Bol'sheviki v bor'be s anarkhizmom v pervye gody sovetskoi vlasti (Tashkent, 1974); S. N. Kanev Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia i krakh anarkhizma (Moscow, 1974); S. F. Udartsev "Velikaia oktiabr'skaia sotsialisticheskaiia revoliutsiia i krushenie idei anarkhizma

5. continued:

v Rossii" in Izvestiia Akademii Nauk Kazakhskoi SSR: Seria obshchestvennykh nauk No.6 (Alma-Ata, 1977).

6. See especially the sympathetic accounts in N. M. Pirumova Petr Alekseevich Kropotkin (Moscow, 1972) and V. A. Tvardovskaia's introduction to P. A. Kropotkin Zapiski revoliutsionera (Moscow, 1966). Pirumova's stance came in for criticism in F. Ia. Polianskii Kritika ekonomicheskikh teorii anarkhizma (Moscow University, 1976) p.128, where she was accused of having "vulgarised the picture" of Kropotkin's voluntaristic ideology.

7. There are, for instance, several accounts of the heroic exploits of Anatolii Zhelezniakov, the anarchist who was called upon to head the Tauride Palace guard which broke up the Constituent Assembly, and who was killed by Denikin's men in 1919. Two of these are I. E. Amurskii Matros Zhelezhniakov (Moscow, 1968); P. F. Bondarenko O chem ne skazala pesnia (Moscow, 1970).

8. This is the view taken in particular by Komin and Kornoukhov, who openly criticised the polemical nature of Iaroslavskii's earlier "authoritative" works on the anarchists. As a result of their studies, two camps amongst Soviet historians on the anarchists can be said to have grown up with the majority (following Iaroslavskii), considering

8. continued:
that the anarchists were almost exclusively bands of petty criminals. For an analysis of this split, see S. N. Kanev "Sovremennaiia sovetskaia istoricheskaia literatura ob anarkhizme v Rossii" Istoriia SSSR 1973, No.6, pp.149-161.
9. See, for instance, the introduction from the editorial board in I. Knizhnik (Vetrov) "Vospominaniia o P. A. Kropotkine i ob odnoi anarkhistsskoi gruppe" Krasnaia Letopis' 1922, No.4, p.28.
10. M. Khudaikulov Bor'ba kommunisticheskii partii op.cit. pp.3,15, is one Soviet historian who has admitted that sections of the workers and soldiers in 1917-1918 "still did not see the great difference between the Bolsheviks and the anarchists... the anarchist calls for antisoviet acts under the flag of anarchism in the first years of Soviet power presented a great danger for the young Soviet Republic".

1. The most comprehensive analysis of the ideology embraced by the Russian anarchists, from Bakunin to Makhno, can be found in A. D'Agostino Marxism and the Russian Anarchists (San Francisco, 1977). Most general accounts of anarchism, including those cited in the Introduction, have chapters on the thought of Bakunin and Kropotkin.
2. Burevestnik (Paris) Nos.6-7, Sept.-Oct., 1907, p.10.
3. Anarkhist (Paris) No.5, March, 1910, p.5.
4. Voline The Unknown Revolution op.cit. p.248.
5. V. I. Lenin "Kak V. Zasulich ubivaet likvidatorstvo" Polnoe Sobranie Sochinenii 5th Edn., Vol.24, pp.36-37.
6. P. A. Kropotkin "Anarchism: Its Philosophy and Ideal" in R. N. Baldwin ed. Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets (New York, 1927) p.142.
7. P. A. Kropotkin "Anarchist Communism: Its Basis and Principles" ibid. p.47.
8. P. A. Kropotkin "Anarchism" ibid. p.285.
9. See V. Zabrezhnev Ob individualisticheskome anarkhizme (London, 1912) pp.12-18.
10. Burevestnik No.2, August 20, 1906, p.5.

11. Not all anarchists accepted this view of property. Individualists (who were a very small minority amongst the Russian anarchists) distrusted all co-operation beyond the barest minimum absolutely necessary for survival, and so, much to the annoyance of other anarchists, they proclaimed that if true individual freedom were to be attained in the future then property would have to be individually privately held.
12. Attempts were made by anarchists after 1917 to construct such independent agricultural communes. In Petrograd for instance, 200 families, consisting of about 1,000 people of both sexes and all ages, handed over their savings, totalling 120,000 roubles, to the Commissariat for Agriculture, so as to settle in Semipalatinsk oblast'. Apparently, however, they had great difficulty both in reaching the site and in living there, difficulties which they could not overcome on their own, thus forcing them to abandon the commune. Anarkhiia (Moscow) April 10, 1918, p.4; M. Khudaikulov Bol'sheviki v bor'be s anarkhizmom op.cit. pp.138-139.
13. A. Kochegarov (Karelin) Zemel'naia programma anarkhistov - kommunistov (London, 1912) p.4.
14. See Kropotkin's introduction to his Polia, fabriki i masterskie (Petrograd-Moscow, 1918) p.5. This view of economic decentralisation was in fact

14. continued:

dubbed as utopian and naive by some anarcho-syndicalists, particularly in 1917. See, for instance, the article by A. Grachev in Golos Truda (Petrograd) Sept.15, 1917, pp.3-4. Not all accepted as fact Kropotkin's assertion of the natural tendency in contemporary productive forces towards decentralisation.

15. Khleb i Volia (Geneva) No.4, November, 1903, p.1. These warnings were sounded especially during the days of the Provisional Government. See, for example, Kommuna (Kronstadt) September, 1917, pp.3-4.

16. P. Arshinov History of the Makhnovist Movement op.cit. p.33.

17. Ibid. p.31-32. Reasons of space preclude a more detailed discussion of one of the most interesting aspects of Russian anarchism. Not all felt equally strongly about the intelligentsia, and in the years before 1917 there was some sort of debate on the concept of anti-intellectualism within the anarchist press and in new anarchist works.

Equally, no more than a passing mention can be given here to Jan Wacław Machajski, whose views on anti-intellectualism have already been covered by other authors, notably A. D'Agostino Marxism and The Russian Anarchists op.cit. pp.110-155;

P. Avrich "What is 'Makhaevism'?" Soviet Studies July, 1965; M. Shatz "The Conspiracy of the Intellectuals" Survey, January, 1967.

17. continued:

Machajski himself, strictly speaking, was never an anarchist, and though his ideas at points came very close to those of some anarchists, he would undoubtedly have had strong objections to being lumped together with them in any way.

18. L. A. Solonovich Gosudarstvo, intelligentsia i anarkhiia (Bezhetsk, 1917) p.13.

19. Buntar' (Paris) No.1, December 1, 1906, p.2.

20. G. Plekhanov Anarchism and Socialism (London, 1906) pp.90,92.

21. Tretii Vserossiiskii S'ezd Sovetov rabochikh soldatskikh i krest'ianskikh deputatov (Petrograd, 1918) p.81.

22. Golos Truda (Petrograd) No.8, September 29, 1917, p.1. Some attempt at compromise was, however, made by syndicalists. A year later, in September, 1918, Vol'nyi Golos Truda argued that "it certainly does not follow that the anarcho-syndicalists in general do not accept the electoral right. On the contrary, we accept the electoral right, but, firstly, not a general one but a working one, and secondly, we accept it not in the shape and form which the bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats talk about. We accept not representation, but delegation". Quoted in V. V. Komin Anarkhizm v Rossii op.cit. p.161.

23. A. Nedrov Rabochii vopros (St. Petersburg, 1906) pp.140-141; N. K. Lebedev Rabochie soiuzy (Moscow, 1917) pp.23-26.
24. Anarkhist No.5, March, 1910, p.6.
25. Ibid. No.3, May, 1909, p.17. Another anarchist prophet of doom for socialist society envisaged it as consisting of innumerable gangs of officials and "industrial soldiers", living on little more than military settlements and "milking cows to the sound of a drum - a hell of endless slavery, a sanctioned fiction of the autocracy of the people's will". V. Gaidamakov Obvinitel'nyi akt protiv Sotsial-Demokratov i Sotsialistov Revoliutsionerov (n.p. 1907) pp.48-49.
26. An example of this came with one of Kropotkin's closest comrades in London, V. Cherkezov, who spent much of his life's work on an effort to show that The Communist Manifesto was no more than a plagiarisation of Considerant's earlier Manifeste de la democratie au XIX siecle. Cherkezov's attempts to devalue the importance and originality of Marxist thought can be found in his Doktriny Marksizma: nauki-li eto? (Geneva, 1903) (republished in Petrograd, 1919 under the title Predtechi Internatsionala) and Concentration of Capital: A Marxian fallacy (London, 1911). An analysis of Cherkezov's critique appears in A. D'Agostino Marxism and the Russian Anarchists op.cit. pp.91-92.

27. By the turn of the century anarchists considered that the revisionist and reformist tendencies within Marxism had led to the preparedness of socialists to mitigate the exploitation of labour by capital. In a revolution, Kropotkin suspected, "They would, indeed wish the expropriation to be complete, but they have not the courage to attempt it; so they put it off to the next century, and before the battle they enter into negotiations with the enemy. P. A. Kropotkin "Revolutionary Government" R. N. Baldwin ed. op.cit. p.250.

1. A prime example of this view can be found in T. Anderson Russian Political Thought: An Introduction. (New York, 1967) p.232. P. Avrich The Russian Anarchists op.cit. p.35 also makes a similar connection.
2. G. Woodcock Anarchism op.cit. p.377. Indeed, while many anarchists showed a penchant for summoning up the ghosts of past revolts in their exaltations to the Russian people, some refused to see any connection between their ideology and Russia's past. As Voline put it, "the entire social, socialist and revolutionary education of the Russians had absolutely nothing anarchist about it, and but for a few exceptions, no one was interested in anarchist ideas" Voline The Unknown Revolution op.cit. p.115.
3. P. Avrich The Russian Anarchists op.cit. pp.3-4, 36; G. Woodcock Anarchism op.cit. pp.379-383.
4. See especially, M. Ravich-Cherkasskii Anarkhisty (Khar'kov, 1929) p.21; E. Iaroslavskii History of Anarchism in Russia op.cit. p.8,20; S. F. Udartsev "Velikaia oktiabr'skaia sotsialisticheskaia revoliutsiia i krushenie idei anarkhizma" op.cit. p.80; S. N. Kanev "Sovremennaia sovetskaia istoricheskaia literatura ob anarkhizme" op.cit. pp.152-154. Terrorist elements of the movement, such as Narodnaia Volia and Nechaev, are particularly singled out as inspirations for the later Russian anarchists.

5. Bakunin's Russian anarchist organisation, formed in Switzerland in 1867, and the Revolutionary Community of Russian Anarchists which followed, both ended in failure, unable to form corresponding anarchist groups on Russian soil. Kropotkin was arrested in 1874, and his activity in the liberation movement effectively ceased after his escape to England in 1876. His ideology of anarchism was only properly worked out and propagated in the 1880s. See especially, F. Venturi Roots of Revolution (New York, 1960) pp.429-468.
6. Amongst Soviet historians of the anarchists, it is V. V. Komin who has laid most emphasis on the economic changes in the country being primarily responsible for the origins of Russian anarchism. See his Anarkhizm v Rossii op.cit. pp.51-57.
7. Space precludes a detailed survey of the changing socio-economic relations in Russia in these years. Good accounts of such factors as the uprooting of workers from villages, bad urban conditions, and the retention of a peasant mentality are L. Haimson The Russian Marxists and the Origins of Bolshevism (Harvard, 1955); G. V. Rimlinger "The Management of Labour Protest in Tsarist Russia 1870-1905" International Review of Social History V (1960) pp.226-248; T. H. Von Laue "Factory Inspection Under the Witte System, 1892-1903" American Slavic and East European Review XIX (October, 1960) pp.347-362; O. Crisp Studies in

7. continued.
the Russian Economy before 1914 (London, 1976);
R. E. Johnson Peasant and Proletarian: the working class of Moscow in the late nineteenth century (Leicester University Press, 1979).
8. I. Khizhnik "Vospominaniia o P. A. Kropotkine" op.cit. p.32. Apart from devoting much energy to the anarchist movement, Goldsmith was also registered as a biology student at the Sorbonne, and was secretary of the journal Année Biologique.
9. Ibid. p.42; E. Kovalskaia "Moe znakomstvo s komando Gogeliia (Orgeiani)" Katorga i Ssylka No.3(16) 1925 p.214. Kropotkin is supposed to have rated Gogeliia very highly as a theoretician of anarchism.
10. Tsentral'nyi Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Oktiabr'skoi Revoliutsii SSSR (TsGAOR). fond 1129, opis'2, edinoe khranenie 41, listy 4,24,50,51,74.

From here references to Soviet archival sources are footnoted in the following abbreviated form adopted by Soviet authors: f.1129, op.2, ed.khr. 41, l.4,24,50,51,74.

11. Ibid. f.102, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1909g., l.342.
Koganovich lasted about a year in Russia before he was arrested in 1904 for possession of illegal literature.
12. For a full account of the history of Jewish oppression in Russia in this period see

12. continued.
S. M. Dubnow History of the Jews in Russia and Poland Vol.II (Philadelphia, 1918) p.247ff.
13. TsGAOR f.102, ed.khr.12, tom.2, 1907g., l.121.
14. Ibid. Burevestnik No.9, Feb.1908, p.10.
15. Anarchist terrorism was a frequent occurrence all over Europe and the United States right up to 1914, but it remains true to say that it reached its height (except for Spain) in the 1890s. G. Woodcock Anarchism op.cit. pp.278-294, 312-322, provides a good account of the European terrorist movement.
16. This is an observation that has been put forward frequently by Soviet commentators in connection with the "disorganisation" of the 1905 revolution. See E. Iaroslavskii History of Anarchism in Russia op.cit. p.43; S. N. Kanev Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia i krakh anarkhizma op.cit. pp.22-23.
17. The term "propaganda by deed" was not however coined by the Russian anarchists. It had been once and for all sanctioned in terms of the programme of anarchist activity by the London International Congress of 1881, and repeated for the anarchist Congresses at Geneva in 1882 and at Capolago in Italy in 1891. The terrorist excesses of the 1890s combined with the growth of French revolutionary syndicalism, however, meant

17. continued.
that it had largely fallen out of favour by the time Russian terrorists began to embrace it.
18. Perhaps its most famous exponents had been Elisée Reclus and Sébastien Faure, who believed that as everyone had a right to life, so long as it was done openly, each might take whatever he needed, this being not theft, but a "revolutionary act of capture". G. Woodcock Anarchism op.cit. p.288.
19. M. Nomad Aspects of Revolt (Bookman, 1959) p.220.
20. Al'manakh: Sbornik po istorii anarkhicheskogo dvizheniia v Rossii" ed. N. Rogdaev (Paris, 1909) pp.8-10.
21. Farber, on October 6 of the same year, became the first anarchist martyr in Russia when, in the process of throwing a bomb into a police-station, he managed to kill himself as well as wounding two policemen, a clerk and two passers-by. Al'manakh op.cit. pp.179-181; Khleb i Volia No.23 Oct. 1905, pp.7-8; Chernoie Znamia (Paris) No.1 Dec. 1905, pp.8-9.
22. For example, Iaroslavskii, after denouncing the anarchists for not performing "a single revolutionary act of any importance" during the first Russian revolution, immediately conceded that "they undoubtedly caused the revolutionary move-

22. continued.

ment considerable harm by their struggle against the Marxists, and particularly by their advocacy of individual terrorism and anarchy". E.

Iaroslavskii History of Anarchism in Russia op.cit. p.36.

23. Burevestnik No.8, Nov. 1907, p.10; I. Bardin Politicheskie partii i russkaia revoliutsiia (Moscow, 1922) p.13.

24. Al'manakh op.cit. pp.8-10.

25. Elin acquired almost legendary status amongst revolutionaries of 1905, both for his bravery and for the manner of his death - in May, 1906, following a shoot-out in a cemetery with a Cossack patrol. As well as having poems written about him, he even received a favourable obituary in the pro-tsarist Varshavskii Dnevnik; I. Grossman-Roshchin: "Dumy o bylom" Byloe No.27-28, 1925, pp.179-180; M. Ivanovich "Anarkhizm v Rossii", in Sotsialist-Revoliutsioner No.3 (Paris, 1911) p.91.

26. Al'manakh op.cit. pp.16-18.

27. TsGAOR f.102, ed.khr.12, tom.2, 1907g. l.121.

28. Furthermore, the act itself was extraordinarily badly managed. The bomb was apparently thrown on the street outside the Café, and local workmen refused to believe the act was the work of anarchists, deciding instead that it had been

28. continued:

perpetrated by the Black Hundreds, to discredit the revolutionaries. Three of the five terrorists involved were executed on November 15, 1906. Buntar' No.1, Dec. 1906, p.31; A. Borovoi (ed.) Mikhailu Bakuninu 1876-1926: ocherki istorii anarkhicheskogo dvizhenia v Rossii (Moscow, 1926) p.256.

29. Burevestnik No.5, April 30 1907, p.12; No.9, Feb. 1908, p.10.

30. TsGAOR f.102, ed.khr.12, tom.2, 1907g., l.122.

31. I. Genkin Po tiur'mam i etapam (Petrograd, 1922) p.290; Burevestnik No.6-7, Sept.-Oct. 1907, pp.29-30.

32. Not all their literature was imported. As well as "borrowing" type for printing proclamations from the newspaper Rus', one of the popular journals of the day, Zhurnal dlia vsekh, promised the group space for agitation and propaganda. Beznachalie's literature is known to have found a readership amongst terrorist groups in Kiev, Warsaw and parts of Minsk and Tambov provinces. The few non-terrorist anarchist groups in Russia, however, made a point of publicly disowning Beznachalie. Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie v Rossii v nachale xx-go veka eds. L. Martov, P. Maslov, A. Potresov. Vol. III (St. Petersburg, 1909) p.495. B. I. Gorev Anarkhisty, maksimalisty i makhaevtsy (Petrograd, 1917) p.40.

33. Beznachalie (Paris) No.2-3, 1905, p.9,16.

The brochures also contained detailed instructions on "how to set fire to the landlord's haystacks" (with the aid of a hempen fuse and matches), material intended for consumption by the local peasantry. A fine example of one such brochure can be found in TsGAOR f.102, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1907g., 1.101.

34. I. Genkin Po tiur'mam i etapam op.cit. pp.290-291.

All the Beznachaltsy, Bogoliubov included, were arrested and placed in the Peter-Paul fortress, although seven of them soon managed to escape.

35. Bidbei also revelled under the nickname "Lutsifer".

At his trial in 1906, however, his name was given as Ter-Oganesov. I. Genkin Gruppa Beznachalie v 1905-1908g. (Minsk, 1919) p.7.

36. I. Genkin Po tiur'mam i etapam op.cit. p.287.

Bidbei was arrested in his native Caucasus in 1906, and his disrespectful attitude before the court at his trial added to his fame amongst revolutionaries in 1905-1906. He spent his sentence in the Shlisselburg prison, where he won himself a reputation for his sharp pointed remarks and his mastery of sarcasm and irony. By the start of the First World War he appears to have been released, as there is mention of him in connection with the Moscow group of anarchists that was active after 1917 (he took, along with Kropotkin, a pro-war stance). Rumour had it that he had escaped from

36. continued.

Siberian exile and had taken to using the name Stenka Razin for his activities. After this, however, no more was heard of Bidbei.

A. Borovoi ed. Mikhailu Bakuninu, 1876-1926
op.cit. p.317; G. Sandomirskii Petr Alekseevich
Kropotkin: uchitel' mezhdunarodnago anarkhizma
(Moscow, 1918) p.6; I. Genkin Gruppa Beznachalie
v 1905-1908g. op.cit. p.7.

37. I. Genkin Po tiur⁴nam i etapam op.cit. p.292-293.

Kolosov, like Bidbei, developed into an extremely embittered revolutionary following the failure of the 1905 revolution, and while serving a long prison sentence he committed suicide in 1909 by throwing himself down a well.

38. Originally incarcerated in the Trubetskoi bastion of the Peter-Paul fortress for his activities, Rostovsev, who at the age of thirty was the grand old man of Russian anarchist terrorism, feigned madness and was transferred to a psychiatric hospital, from which he escaped. Disillusioned with the anarchist émigrés in the West, he made plans to free the revolutionary prisoners from Shlisselburg, even going as far as trying to enter the prison inspectorate. Eventually he decided to expropriate a bank in Switzerland. The shoot-out that resulted which killed and wounded five people, so incensed a crowd of Swiss citizens that they attempted to tear him to pieces on the spot. The Swiss legal

38. continued.

system saved him however, and a Lausanne court sentenced him to twenty years imprisonment.

Soon afterwards, he set fire to himself. I.

Genkin Po tiurnam i etapam op.cit. pp.288-289, 300-301.

39. For a reprint of one, dated September, 1906,

see Listki "Khleb i Volia" (London) No.5,

Dec. 28, 1906. The proclamation accepted that terror should be relegated to a secondary tactic,

but nevertheless continued to condone partial expropriations, which they believed should be

carried out by the unemployed to ward off hunger.

See also N. P. Babaeva "V. I. Lenin i peterburgskie bol'sheviki v bor'be protiv anarkhistov v period

revoliutsii 1905-1907gg." in Uchenye zapiski

instituta istorii partii leningradskogo obkoma

KPSS Vol.1 (Leningrad, 1970) pp.128-129.

40. Burevestnik No.8, Nov. 1907, p.10; Obshchestvennoe

dvizhenie v Rossii op.cit. p.525; P. A. Berlin

Apostoly anarkhii (Petrograd, 1917) p.29. Another

contemporary of Machajski in exile, Genkin, later

recalled reading his major work, Umstvennyi

rabochii in the winter of 1901-2. The mimeo-

graphed work called forth a lot of discussion

and arguments amongst the political exiles.

Genkin described it as a "whimsical vignette"

of "pretentious confusion, propagated by a man

with a grudge.". I. Genkin Gruppa Beznachalie

v 1905-1908g., op.cit., p.11.

41. A. Borovoi ed. Mikhailu Bakuninu, 1876-1926
op.cit. p.281; I. Genkin Gruppa Beznachalie
v 1905-1908g. op.cit., p.11.
42. Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie v Rossii op.cit.
p.525.
43. A. Parry, in his introduction to the latest
edition of Umstvennyi rabochii (New York -
Baltimore, 1968) p.13, claims that Machajski's
first hectographed work appeared in Odessa as
early as the winter of 1901.
44. Lack of space relegates this hybrid group to a
footnote. According to M. Nomad, Dreamers,
Dynamiters and Demagogues (New York, 1964) pp.103-4,
some of the Neprimirnye were avowed followers of
Machajski, while they also receive a mention in
E. Iaroslavskii History of Anarchism in Russia
op.cit., p.38. The fullest account, however,
appears in V. V. Komin Anarkhizm v Rossii op.cit.
pp.63-64. Mostly former SRs, their general pro-
gramme was a struggle against the intelligentsia
and the latter's attempts to involve the workers
in a "bourgeois" revolution. Their tactics were
a series of petty expropriations and terrorist
acts, the printing of illegal proclamations (on
their own press) and participation in the local
strike movement. A split occurred in the group
after the appearance in Odessa of the first
issues of Khleb i Volia (at the end of 1903),
the majority turning to pure anarchist beliefs.

44. continued:

However, arrests soon followed, and on April 12, 1904, thirty-five of the group were thrown in prison, along with the seizure of their printing-press. This effectively ended the existence of the Neprimirime. See also Buntar' No.1, Dec. 1906, p.30; Al'manakh op.cit., p.7.

45. Their greatest success appears to have been the infiltration of the St. Petersburg Soviet of Unemployed in April 1906, which was under the leadership of the Bolshevik S. V. Malyshev. At one of its meetings, the Bolsheviks were forced to introduce a resolution rejecting "the pretensions and importunities" of the Rabochii Zagovor group to leadership of the Soviet. Ocherki istorii leningradskoi organizatsii KPSS Vol I (Leningrad, 1962), p.204.

46. I. Genkin Po tiurmam i etapam op.cit. pp.287-8; Genkin noted that Umstvennyi rabochii was having great success amongst the St. Petersburg unemployed in the early part of 1905, and that one of Beznachalie's founder members, Gurari, had become personally acquainted with Machajski while they were in exile together. On the influence of Machajski's thought in St. Petersburg, see also Anarkhist No.1, Oct. 1907, p.17.

47. K. Orgeiani Ob intelligentsii (London, 1912) p.26. Machajski was also considered by many anarchists, especially the syndicalists, to be a fanatical supporter of centralisation. One critic, for instance, felt that Umstvennyi rabochii "faithfully exposes certain traits, but the conclusions, in our opinion, are completely incorrect.". A. Nedrov Rabochii vopros op.cit., p.139.
48. Burevestnik No. 8, Nov. 1907, p.9.
49. S. Sibiriaikov "Boris Berkov" Katorga i Ssylka No. 2 (31), 1927, pp.247-254.
50. Ekaterinoslavshchina v revoliutsii 1905-1907gg. Dokumenty i materialy (Dnepropetrovsk, 1975) pp.5-17.
51. Khleb i Volia No.23, Oct. 1905, p.7. The group published more than ten different brochures and proclamations during the course of the year.
52. Burevestnik No.6-7, Sept.-Oct. 1907, p.29, M. Ivanovich, "Anarkhizm v Rossii" op.cit. pp.85-86 estimated that around two hundred were present at a general meeting of anarchists in Chechelevsk, a suburb of Ekaterinoslav, on July 26, 1906 (which can be taken as being the high point for the anarchists in that town).

52. continued.

The anarchists in Ekaterinoslav had around twenty terrorist circles, with between ten and twenty people in each, and details of their activity for 1906 can be broken down as follows:

Political Terror (e.g. attack on a policeman) ..	64
Armed Resistance on Arrest (not less than)	16
Economic Terror (e.g. attack on factory manager)	11
Large Expropriations ..	8
Abductions of Arrested from Hospital	3
Blackmail with Threats ..	2
"Motiveless" Terror	2
Seizure of a Printing-Press ..	1

53. His exploits included taking part in the prevention of an attack of 190 dragoons on the above mentioned anarchist meeting in Chechelevsk, where he was wounded in the leg. After recovering, he went abroad to study modern techniques of terrorist activity from Western European militants. Upon his return to Russia in June, 1907, Zubar carried out armed attacks on three shop-keepers to provide money for revolutionaries who had escaped from the Sevastopol' prison. It is no surprise that he chose suicide rather than incarceration when finally surrounded by guards and soldiers. M. Ivanovich "Anarkhizm v Rossii" op.cit. p.90.

54. I. Grossman-Roshchin "Dumy o bylom" op.cit., p.176. Avrich considers the total of three hundred activists to be an exaggeration, suggesting two hundred, with many more sympathisers, as the more likely figure. P. Avrich The Russian Anarchists op.cit., p.42.
55. TsGAOR f.102, ed.khr.12, tom.2, 1907g., 1.121; Burevestnik No.8, Nov. 1907, pp.25-28; M. Ivanovich "Anarkhizm v Rossii" op.cit., p.81.
56. TsGAOR f.102, ed.khr.12, tom.2, 1907g., 1.121; tom.1, 1909g., 1.342.
57. Ibid. tom.1, 1907g., 1.122.
58. Ibid. 1.121. See also 1.31-33 for an example of one of Bezvlastie's proclamations. This particular one, entitled Kto my i chego khotim, had a print-run of 10,000 copies.
59. Ibid. 1.151; S. Sibiriyakov "Pamiatì tovarishchei" Katonga i Ssylka No.6(13), 1924, pp.234-245.
60. Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie v Rossii op.cit., p.490; M. Ivanovich "Anarkhizm v Rossii" op.cit. pp.82-89. The activities of the Ekaterinburg group are detailed in Listki "Khleb i Volia" No.11, March 29, 1907, pp.5-6. The correspondent noted wryly that the local liberal bourgeoisie, who out of fear for their lives and property, gave money for weapons to all the revolutionary organisations, drew the line at the anarchists, whom even the local police feared. "In those

60. continued.

days we had a real freedom of speech and assembly", he wrote, referring to the summer of 1906, "but only because of our strengths. There were four fighting detachments, with twelve poods of dynamite, on one side; and a disorganised police-force on the other. So long as this state of affairs continued, we were free."

There is also evidence of small anarchist groups having existed as far afield as Tashkent and Irkutsk, but it seems more likely that they were made up of political exiles. An account of the murder of Tashkent's public procurator in 1906 by an anarchist can be found in P. Fabrichnyi, "Pamiaty Aleksandra Andreevicha Bodritskogo" Katorga i Ssylka No.3(10), 1924, pp.255-261. See also Burevestnik No.15, March 1909, p.20.

61. TsGAOR f.102, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1907g., 1.52-53,76; tom.2, 1907g., 1.121; G. Sandomirskii "K voprosu o Dmitrii Bogrove" Katorga i Ssylka No.2(23, 1926, pp.20-21; I. Genkin "Sredi preemnikov Bakunina" Krasnaia Letopis' No.1, 1927, p.182.

62. TsGAOR f.102, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1907g., 1.52-53,69,125; tom.2, 1907g., 1.151.

63. Ibid. f.102, op.8, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1907g., 1.40, 126; S. Anisimov "Sud i rasprava nad anarkhistami-kommunistami" Katorga i Ssylka No.10(95), 1932, p.138.

64. Gonenilia na anarkhizm v sovetskoi Rossii (Berlin, 1922), p.44; S. Anisimov "Sud i rasprava nad anarkhistami-kommunistami" op.cit., pp.137-138; Anarkhist No.5, March 1910, p.24. Taratuta survived penal servitude in Kiev, and was released in March 1917. Although by now in her late forties, she continued to work actively for the anarchist movement in the south until her arrest, and subsequent exile, in late 1920.
65. Many accounts of other anarchist terrorists and their exploits can be found in anarchist journals of the day. A good account of the terrorist Semyon (Rakovskii), a Jewish déclassé from Bialystok, can be found in M. Nomad Dreamers, Dynamiters and Demagogues op.cit., pp.43-48.
66. Apart from its theoretical articles, Buntar' contained an extremely informative correspondence section, which in turn helps to underline the emphasis put on practical deeds by the groups. The letters from group correspondents within Russia include descriptions of arrests, shoot-outs, the throwing of bombs, murder, suicides, the arrest of a bomb laboratory, and robberies of private people and shops.

67. Burevestnik No.5, April 30, 1907, pp.13-14. Not surprisingly, Mets went to the scaffold. In almost poetic terms, he conceded that the bourgeoisie would be "dancing on my grave, but... we are only the first swallows of the approaching spring! We have thrown the first grain for generations onto the cornfield overgrown with wild grass and wormwood. It has not taken root yet, but neither has it died away."
68. Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie v Rossii op.cit., p.505; I. Genkin "Sredi preemnikov Bakunina" op.cit., p.198.
69. For a proclamation outlining the propagation of robbery as a tactic in itself, see Listki "Khleb i Volia" No.3, Nov.28, 1906, p.6. The Menshevik I. Genkin in his Po tiurmam i etapam op.cit. p.279, described the ideology of the Beznachaltsy, of which he had had first-hand experience, as that of the intellectual Bohemian and "the barefoot" - "two groups little connected with the productive classes, suffering from unemployment and insecurity, incapable of organisation and self-discipline". Max Nomad considered the ideology suitable "for the ultra-lunatic fringe of the radical movement" M. Nomad Dreamers, Dynamiters and Demagogues op.cit. p.77. And one of Russia's earliest anarcho-syndicalists, Maksim Raevskii, pointed out that one had only to recall Nechaev's newspaper Rabochaia Rasprava to see that the Beznachaltsy, with some innovations, simply wanted to restore "Nechaevist anarchism". Burevestnik No.8, Nov. 1907, p.11.

70. Twenty-one anarchist terrorists attended the conference from all the most important centres of the movement, in particular Bialystok and Ekaterinoslav. Delegates included the arch-terrorists Zubar and Elin. Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie v Rossii op.cit., p.483. (Ivanovich put the number of delegates at around sixty, but this seems exaggerated. M. Ivanovich "Anarkhizm v Rossii" op.cit., p.85).
71. Kommunary groups are known to have existed in Bialystok, Warsaw, Odessa and Ekaterinoslav, but their existence was extremely short-lived. The whole Bialystok group, having moved to Ekaterinoslav, was quickly arrested. Al'manakh op.cit., p.23; I. Genkin "Sredi preemnikov Bakunina" op.cit., p.178-179.
- As for Striga, he fled to Paris, where he intended to "blow to pieces" eminent members of the bourgeoisie such as the Rothschilds, who were well known for their help in financing the Russian autocracy. While lying in wait for a potential victim, a German banker, Striga accidentally blew himself up in a Paris park in the summer of 1906. Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie v Rossii op.cit., p.483.
72. Burevestnik No. 6-7, Sept. - Oct. 1907, p.3.

73. Ibid., p.5. Grossman was active amongst the Russian revolutionary émigré community in Paris after 1906, and was often to be seen at meetings of the other parties. Soon after arriving in the West he became a member of the editorial of the pro-syndicalist Burevestnik but he retained his own beliefs, and returned to Russia to work in an underground anarchist terrorist organisation at the end of 1907. To avoid arrest, he shot himself on Kiev railway station on February 28, 1908. A dedicated terrorist, at his inquest several other wounds from previous incidents were found on his corpse. S. Anisimov "Sud i rasprava nad anarkhistami - kommunistami", op.cit., pp.134-135, 144-145.
74. In an article written in 1925, Grossman-Roshchin attempted to defend his earlier terrorist ideology. While conceding that the views expressed by his comrades had been those of "romantics and utopians", he refused to accept that they represented "dogmatic maximalism", an accusation the Bolsheviks were at that time fond of levelling at the anarchists. I. Grossman-Roshchin "Dumy o bylom", op.cit., pp.174-175, 182.
75. See Beznachalie No.1, April 1905, pp.1-3.

76. Buntar' No.1, Dec. 1906, p.11; Anarkhist No.3, May 1909, p.13.
77. Bez Rulia (Paris) Sept. 1908, p.3, see also Beznachalie No.1, April 1905, p.2; Burevestnik No.2, Aug. 20, 1906, p.4.
78. Buntar' No.1, Dec. 1906, p.2.
79. D. Novomirskii Iz programmyi sindikal'nogo anarkhizma (n.p., Golos Truda, 1907) p.162.
80. E. Ustinov Sovremennyi anarkhizm (Geneva, 1905) pp.23-24.
81. Anarkhist No.3, May 1909, p.12.
82. Many anarchist works devoted space to a discussion of the question of anti-intellectualism. A minority, mainly Kropotkin and his supporters, found the terrorists' views too extreme, and saw no reason why intellectuals could not help in the task of revolution. (This is not to deny, however, the existence of a spirit of anti-intellectualism in several of Kropotkin's writings).

Examples of differing views can be found in D. I. Novomirskii Chto takoe anarkhizm? (n.p. 1907); K. Orgeiani Ob intelligentsii op.cit.; and articles in Rabochii Mir (Zurich, 1912 - 1914).

83. The anarchist Arshinov, for instance, recalled that in Ekaterinoslav in the summer of 1906 many local SRs had difficulties in reconciling the official SR position on the 1905 revolution with their own beliefs, subsequently coming to reject the former. P. Arshinov Dva pobega (Iz vospominanii anarkhista, 1906-96)(Paris, 1929) pp.6-8.
84. Khleb i Volia No.5, Dec. 1903, pp.1-2.
85. Listki "Khleb i Volia" No.1, Oct. 30, 1906, pp.7-8. See also Khleb i Volia No.18, June 1905, p.2, where one of the six "essential conditions" of work for anarchists during the revolution was the emphasis of these differences between the SRs and the anarchists on the question of terror. For an anarchist view of the Azev affairs and its significance for SR methods of terrorism, see Anarkhist No.5, March 1910, pp.11-12.
86. Vladimir Mazurin, the SR Maximalist who organised the hold up of the Bank for Mutual Mercantile Credit in Moscow in March, 1906, (a robbery that realised around 800,000 roubles) is supposed to have declared before his execution, "I am dying as an anarchist". Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie v Rossii op.cit., p.474.

87. For an account of Lenin's and Stalin's involvement in expropriations for party funds, see B. Wolfe Three Who Made a Revolution (New York, 1964), pp.371-398.
88. G. Plekhanov Anarchism and Socialism op.cit. p.88.
89. Anarkhizm i khuliganstvo (St. Petersburg, 1906) pp.24-27; see also S. Ivanovich Anarkhisty i anarkhizm v Rossii (St. Petersburg, 1907) p.15 ff.
90. Anarkhist No.1, Oct. 1907, p.18. See for a similar critique, Buntar' No.1, Dec. 1906, p.10.
91. Kropotkin's Khleb i Volia, as early as May 1904, offered a more developed argument, accusing the Social Democrats as a whole of having "an opportunist, uncommitted attitude to terror". Khleb i Volia No.9, May 1904, pp.1-2.
92. A. Borovoi ed. Mikhailu Bakuninu, 1876-1926 op.cit. p.258. See also Buntar' No.1, Dec. 1906, p.30; W. S. Woytinsky Stormy Passage (New York, 1961) p.137. There is a description of the practice of mandates in A. I. Solzhenitsyn August, 1914 (Penguin, 1974) pp.57-58.
93. An example of this was the printing of four thousand proclamations by the Ekaterinoslav Chernoznamenty at the end of 1906 to explain the reason for the murder of a "reactionary" during the town's railway strike. Assassination by this time had become this group's speciality, and several attempts were made on factory directors

93. continued.

and police inspectors. Indeed, the terror had been on such a scale in the summer of 1906 that police had refused to enter certain districts of Ekaterinoslav, thus allowing anarchists to hold mass meetings every evening on a railway station near the Dnieper. Listki "Khleb i Volia" No.1, Oct. 30, 1906, p.10; Burevestnik No.8, Nov. 1907, p.11; P. Arshinov Dva pobega op.cit., pp.9-10.

94. I. Genkin "Sredi preemnikov Bakunina" op.cit. pp.199-201.

95. P. Avrich The Russian Anarchists op.cit., p.64. Listki "Khleb i Volia" No.5, Dec. 28, 1906 reported that between February 1905 - November 1906, the following had been killed or heavily wounded by terrorist attacks in general:

Gubernator-generals, town governors	67
District Police Officers, Police Officers	315
City Chiefs of Police and Assistants	57
Policemen	347
Officers of Secret Police and Gendarmerie	47
Lesser Gendarmerie Ranks ..	95
Agents of Secret Police ..	74
Army and Guard Officers ..	124
Lesser Ranks of Army and Guard	382
Officials of Civilian Departments	215
Spiritual Persons	53
Rural Authorities	68
Landowners	73
Factory Owners and their Higher Ranks	117
Bankers and Large Merchants ..	76
<u>TOTAL:</u>	<u>2,110</u>

95. continued.

The general official figures run as follows:

		<u>Murdered</u>	<u>Wounded</u>
1905 (2½ months)		222	217
1906	..	1,126	1,506
1907	..	3,001	1,076
1908	..	1,820	2,083

Source: P. A. Kropotkin Terror in Russia op.cit.
p.36.

What percentage of all these figures the anarchists could lay claim to is impossible to gauge, especially as the last set of figures referred to all murders of any description. The large number of murders for 1907 suggests that anarchists and Maximalists were at their most determined in this year.

96. The Beznachalie group appeared in court on November 1906, the first trial of anarchists to be held in St. Petersburg. To mark the occasion, the defendants refused to stand and answer questions. After having been threatened with removal by force from the courtroom, Bidbei, who was sentenced to fifteen years in prison, shouted "that is the best thing you could do." When Kolosov was asked if he considered himself guilty, he replied, "Your court is a comedy! After all, you have already the sentence in your pocket". That sentence was also 15 years, but Kolosov only stood three years of it before committing suicide, ibid. pp.297-298; Listki "Khleb i Volia" No.4, Dec. 1906, p.8; Burevestnik No.13, Oct. 1908, p.22; No.14, Jan. 1909, pp.18-20.

97. TsGAOR f.102, ed.khr.12, tom.2, 1907g. 1.122-125, 151-152; Anarkhist No.1, Oct. 10, 1907, p.31; Al'manakh op.cit. p.149.
98. Examples of obituaries can be found in TsGAOR f.102, ed.khr.12, tom.2, 1907g. 1.87-89 (the Odessa and Ekaterinoslav terrorist, Zubar, who upon finding himself surrounded by police, shot himself in June 1907); and Burevestnik No.9, Feb. 1908, p.1 (Engelson), pp.17, 19-22.
99. N. Geine "Politicheskie v'Luk'ianovke'. Ocherk po statistike politicheskikh zakliuchennykh (okonchanie)" Katorga i Ssylka No.25, 1926, pp.202-218.
100. One anarchist was classified by Geine as a professor. Of all the prisoners questioned, the vast majority had been active in the revolutionary movement for six years or less, and more than half were in for the first time ibid., pp.207-209. By the end of 1907 the number of anarchists known to be in the Kiev prison had risen to 83. B. Gorev Anarkhizm v Rossii op.cit., p.69.
101. Figures taken from M. Ivanovich Anarkhizm v Rossii op.cit., p.83. The low number of armed resistances is explained by the fact that usually a shoot-out with the police followed, resulting in either flight or death.
102. Ibid., p.84. The solitary 65 year old was a woman "sympathiser".

103. I. Genkin Po tiurnam i etapam op.cit., p.290. Extreme cases of anarchist youth were the five sentenced to death on October 23, 1906 in Riga, two of whom were only 16, and the oldest of whom was just 19; and a 17 year old Kishinev anarchist, hanged in January 1907 for wounding two police officers. Listki "Khleb i Volia" No.2, Nov.14, 1906, p.6. S. Sibiriakov "Pamiati tovarishchei" op.cit., p.235.
104. "Revolutionary tribunals" were set up in Warsaw in 1905 by the PPS to try and shoot anarchists accused of "robbery" during strikes and rebellions. Similar tribunals were set up in Baku by nationalist groups, the result of which was a state of war being declared by the anarchists on the nationalists, a war which ended with the death of seventeen nationalists and eleven anarchists. Burevestnik No.8, Nov. 1907, p.10; Anarkhist No.1, Oct. 1907, p.37.
105. Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie v Rossii op.cit., pp.485-486, 492; Burevestnik No.9, Feb. 1908, p.9. Bundist proclamations condemning anarchist tactics began to appear in Bialystok from the middle of 1904. Serious clashes between the Bund and anarchists occurred at open mass meetings held in Bialystok and Zhitomir in the summer of 1905. Al'manakh op.cit., p.11; L. Kulczycki Anarkhizm v sovremennom sotsial'no-politicheskom dvizhenii v Rossii (St. Petersburg, 1907), p.39.

106. This is said to have occurred, for instance, in Ekaterinburg in the Urals where, due to the anarchists' "technical difficulties" (i.e. insufficient people, lack of literature, no money) they merged with the SRs at the end of 1904, splitting away a year later when "conditions were more favourable", Listki "Khleb i Volia", No.11, March 29, 1907, p.5.

In the rural guberniis of the Ukraine, notably Kiev, Poltava and Kherson, anarchists claimed some success in contending with the SRs for influence amongst the peasantry, I. Knizhnik "Vospominaniia o P. A. Kropotkine" op.cit., p.34. These areas were later to become centres of Makhnovist support.

107. This analysis is necessarily derived from memoir success. Good examples of Bialystok terrorists abound. See especially I. Brill'on Iz vospominanii terrorista: sbornik rasskazov (Petrograd, 1917) pp.13-14 (an SR publication); I. Zil'berblat "Pervyi arest" Katorga i Ssylka, No.2(51), 1929, pp.118-132. G. Sandomirskii, "Svetloi pamiati Davida Bekkera (Iashi)" ibid. No.1(38), 1928, pp. 168-170.
108. I. Grossman-Roshchin "Dumy o bylom" op.cit., p.177.

109. Okhrana records in 1908 estimated the following figures for anarchist activists operating at various times in Russia:

Bialystok	60	Ekaterinoslav	200
Warsaw	40	Moscow	50

TsGAOR, f.111, op.5, ed.khr.282, l.28-29.

110. See for example, S. Ivanovich Anarkhisty i anarkhizm v Rossii op.cit., pp.3-4; A. Shchepelev "Sovremennyi anarkhizm i klassovaia tochka zreniia" Russkoe Bogatstvo, No.1, Jan. 1907, p.115; and an aid to military students taking a course in law, A. Dobrovol'skii Anarkhizm, sotsializm. Rabochii i agrarnyi voprosy (St. Petersburg, 1908), pp.17-19. The introduction to this last work pointed out the creeping dangers of both anarchism and socialism on the Russian army following the harmful effects of propaganda amongst the ranks. Ibid., pp.1-7.

111. See, for example, Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie v Rossii op.cit., p.491-495. The author of the article, Gorev, went so far as to admit that the anarchists had successfully exposed the intellectual composition of the Social Democrats' committees, their centralist character, the inflexibility of their tactics, and their love affair with European freedoms. Gifted orators, such as Striga in Bialystok, Grossman in Ekaterinoslav, or Novomirskii in Odessa, armed with this critique, were capable of producing "devastation in the party ranks".

111. continued.

This view subsequently found its way, again via the pen of Gorev, into the pages of the first editions of Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia (Moscow, 1926) Vol.2, p.642.

112. The German anarchist socialist V. Borgius in 1904 compiled the following table of the distribution of the anarchist press in Europe between 1896 and 1904 in order to emphasise the fact that what success anarchist propaganda had enjoyed had been in agricultural regions and countries. He argued that the reason for this was because anarchist theory was clearer to the peasant mind than socialism:

<u>By Country:</u>	1896	1904	<u>By Language:</u>	1896	1904
Rumania	1	1	Rumanian	1	1
Sweden/Norway	-	2	French	10	7
Germany	2	2	Italian	1	15
Switzerland	-	3	Span./Portug.	30	33
England	5	3	Polish/Czech.	4	7
Belgium	3	3	Scandinavian	1	2
Austria	4	4	Dutch	4	8
France	7	4	English	7	5
Holland	4	7	German	6	7
Spain/Portugal	13	13			
Italy	1	13			
U.S.A./Cuba	13	12			
S. America	14	16			
<u>Total:</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>83</u>	<u>Total:</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>85</u>

These figures should be handled with care, as anarchist organs often did not last long, appeared irregularly and changed their name and place of publication, while in some countries official attitudes towards anarchism made it impossible to publish anarchist periodicals, regardless of strength of movement. In other

112. continued.

countries, such as England and Switzerland, newspapers were published with a view to distribution abroad. Finally, the better indicator of popularity is not number of organs, but readership, figures which are impossible to establish either by country or language. Notwithstanding this, these figures show a clear correlation between heavily industrial countries and lack of anarchist journals, and vice versa.

See V. Borgius Teoreticheskie osnovy anarkhizma (Odessa, 1906), pp.68-70. (Translated from the German).

113. G. Woodcock Anarchism op.cit., p.14.

114. Burevestnik No.10-11, March-April, 1908, p.1.

115. As a result of anarchist death-threats, factory and shop owners started making their employees responsible for any possible attempts made on them from the anarchists. Failure to protect and defend the owner or manager would simply be met (and, indeed, was met) with the closing down of the business and the loss of all jobs. This led in some instances in the Western regions to workers acting as personal bodyguards to their employers. S. Ivanovich Anarkhisty i anarkhizm v Rossii op.cit., pp.14-15.

1. TsGAOR, f.1129, op.2, ed.khr.41, 1.99.
2. The resolutions appeared in Khleb i Volia No.14, Jan. 1905, p.1. See also P. A. Kropotkin i ego uchenie (ed. G. P. Maksimov) (Chicago, 1931) p.185; L. Kulczycki Anarkhizm v sovremennom sotsial'no-politicheskom dvizhenii v Rossii op.cit. pp.39-41.
3. He wrote to Goldsmith, "It seems to me that it would be better to bring out eight pages (of Khleb i Volia) every fortnight... But it will not be easy to reason with them (the editorial). I would like to write every week. There is so much that I want to say." TsGAOR, f.1129, op.2, ed.khr.42, 1.16.
4. I. Knizhnik "Vospominaniia o P. A. Kropotkine" op.cit. p.33.
5. TsGAOR, f.102, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1909g., 1.342.
6. Al'manakh op.cit., p.48.
7. Ibid. pp.48-49, 55-57; TsGAOR, f.102, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1909g., 1.351. Burevestnik No.5, April 30, 1907, p.15; Listki "Khleb i Volia" No.4, Dec.13, 1906, p.7.
8. Al'manakh op.cit., pp.57-58; M. Ivanovich "Anarkhizm v Rossii" op.cit., pp.83, 87-88.
9. Between forty and fifty anarchists were arrested in the autumn of 1906 for terrorist activity. The rump of Svobodnaia Kommuna, Bezvlastie, managed to survive, merging with SR Maximalists, until the

9. continued:
spring of 1907. Al'manakh op.cit., pp.58-61;
TsGAOR, f.102, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1909g., 1.351;
Listki "Khleb i Volia" No.3, Nov. 28, 1906, p.6;
Burevestnik No.5, April 30, 1907, p.15.
10. Listki "Khleb i Volia" No.1, Oct.30, 1906, p.10;
Anarkhist No.1, Oct. 1907, p.28.
11. Anarkhist No.1, Oct. 1907, p.36. Nobati ceased to exist of its own free will, after fourteen numbers, on May 1, 1906. It was followed in the same month by Khma (The Voice), which lasted just seven numbers, as it appears to have had neither means nor subscribers, and Mushi (The Worker) in June, which managed to survive for 52 numbers.
Al'manakh op.cit., pp.99-100, 103.
- Stalin, in a footnote to his Anarchism or Socialism, had to admit that these newspapers had had some success "amongst the declasse and petty-bourgeois elements in Tiflis". Stalin Works Vol.1, 1901-1907. (For.Lang.Pub.House, 1954), p.412, Note 84.
12. For a general discussion of the history of syndicalism, see Val. R. Lorwin The French Labour Movement (Cambridge Mass., 1954) pp.15-46.
13. S. V. Utechin, in his Russian Political Thought. A Concise History (London, 1963), pp.160-161 is one writer who considers that syndicalist tendencies were widespread in the Russian labour movement from as early as the end of the 1870s,

13. continued:

and cites as examples the underground Workers' Union of Southern Russia in Odessa, the Fellowship of St. Petersburg Workingmen in the 1880s, and the Group of Self Emancipation of the Working Class in the late 1890s, although he makes no attempt to connect these instances with strict anarcho-syndicalism.

14. A. Borovoi ed. Mikhailu Bakuninu, 1876-1926 op.cit. pp.253-254. Novomirskii's group published several proclamations which were widely distributed, and also two single-issue journals, Novyi Mir (which was actually published in October 1905 in Paris) and Vol'nyi Rabochii (Odessa, 1906). Examples of the group's proclamations are in TsGAOR f.102, ed.khr.12, tom.2, 1907g., 1.35-36, 79-80.

15. A. Borovoi ed. Mikhailu Bakuninu, 1876-1926 op.cit. p.259. The printers' strike was ended on June 1, 1906 by a young tailor, I. Pokotilov, who shot the head of the owners' trust, an act which led to the immediate capitulation to all the strikers' demands. The whole incident so increased the popularity of the anarchists that the Odessa laundry workers sent them a letter asking if they would send a threatening letter to their bosses. Burevestnik No.8, Nov. 1907, p.22.

16. A. Borovoi ed. Mikhailu Bakuninu 1876-1926 op.cit. pp.262-264. The "chief technician" of the armed detachment was a young Pole, "Kek" Kozlovskii, so

16. continued:
called because of his love for the cake-walk,
which he often danced with his wife in the
laboratory, bombs in their hands.
17. Ibid. A raid on the St. Petersburg International
Bank netted them 25,000 roubles, enough to create
an underground printing-press and publish
Novomirskii's Iz programmyi sindikal'nogo
anarkhizma. Novomirskii defended the funding
of anarchist groups, strikers and the unemployed
by large-scale expropriations in the programme of
his group which he sent to Listki "Khleb i Volia"
No.5, Dec. 28, 1906, p.9. In this he declared
that he was only against motiveless terror and
petty expropriations.
18. A. Borovoi ed. Mikhailu Bakuninu, 1876-1926 op.cit.
p.257,269. The joint SR and anarchist terrorist
campaign against the shareholders of the Fleet
(who included in their number members of the Tsar's
family) manifested itself in the murder of two
steam-ship captains and the blowing up of the
ocean steamer Grigorii Mark.
19. Ibid. pp.271-273. Peasant groups who had previously
belonged to the SRs joined the anarchists and
carried out terrorist acts (including the invidious
"mandate") in the regions around Odessa, Tiraspol',
Kherson and Kishinev.
20. TsGAOR. f.102, op.14, ed.khr.12, l.136,155,210.
Novomirskii spent the eight years of his sentence
in Warsaw and Moscow prisons.

21. V. I. Lenin "Sotsializm i anarkhizm" in Poln. soch.sobr. op.cit. Vol.12, pp.129-130.
22. N. P. Babaeva "V. I. Lenin i petersburgskie bol'sheviki v bor'be protiv anarkhistov" op.cit. pp.137-138.
23. P. M. Pakhmurnyi Bol'sheviki Kazakhstana v revoliutsii 1905-1907 godov (Alma-Ata, 1976) p.188; Listki "Khleb i Volia" No.17, June 21, 1907, p.4.
24. The main non-Russian works to appear were F. Pelloutier Istoriia birzha truda (St. Petersburg, 1906) and Zhizn' rabochikh vo Frantsii (St. Petersburg, 1906); A. Labriola Sindikalizm i reformizm (St. Petersburg, 1907); and H. Lagardelle Revoliutsionnyi sindikalizm (St. Petersburg, 1906).

Russian works included N. Kritskaia and N. Lebedev Istoriia sindikal'nogo dvizheniia vo Frantsii, 1789-1907 (Moscow, 1908); V. A. Posse Kakova dolzhna byt' programma russkikh proletariiev? (Geneva, 1905) and Rabochie stachki: ocherki (St. Petersburg, 1906); L. S. Kozlovskii Sindikalizm: sbornik (St. Petersburg, 1907) and Sotsial'noe dvizhenie v sovremennoi Frantsii (Moscow, 1908).

The last two writers, Posse and Kozlovskii, displeased the Burevestnik group in Geneva because of the stress they laid on pure syndicalist tactics, and they were subsequently labelled "quasi-Marxists". See, for instance, Burevestnik No.8, Nov. 1907, p.4.

25. The St. Petersburg Okhrana certainly felt the need to compile a lengthy report on anarcho-syndicalist tendencies in the capital, albeit as late as 1911. TsGAOR, f.102, op.240, ed.khr.12, l.35-39.

26. A. S. Prugavin O L'Ve Tolstom i o tolstovakh (Moscow, 1911), pp.193-200. Anarchists noted especially the sect of Iogovists, who emphasised the eternal struggle against all forms of power and capital (and who were not averse to using dynamite to drive home their message) and the Dukhobors. See Burevestnik No.8, Nov. 1907, p.9.

27. Indeed, no other movement in Russia went further in its denunciation of religion than the anarchists. Lenin was one who considered that they went too far in this direction, merely playing into the hands of the priests and the bourgeoisie. V. I. Lenin "Ob otnoshenii rabochei partii k religii" Poln.sobr. soch. op.cit., Vol.17, p.421.

28. Vetrov, who was converted from Tolstoyan views when he arrived in Paris from Kiev in the autumn of 1904, was arrested in Russia in 1907, and in Siberian exile once again became a Tolstovets. I. Khizhnik "Vospominaniia o P. A. Kropotkine" op.cit., pp.30,32,34; TsGAOR, f.102, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1909g., l.34.

29. The émigrés had their own farm which was run by Pavel Biriukov, a friend and biographer of Tolstoy, who was also responsible for a large number of the

29. continued:

articles in Svobodnoe Slovo, the Tolstoyan theoretical review which was published by A. Chertkov in Purleigh, Essex, between 1898 and 1905. The religious - philosophical side of the ideology was said to be popular in Geneva both amongst the intelligentsia and, to some extent, amongst young Russian girls, who were sometimes capable of taking the principle of passive resistance to the limits of the mad-house. G. Sandomirskii Krasnye meteory (Moscow-Leningrad, 1931) pp.35-37, 96-98.

30. As Kropotkin saw it, the individual should try to liberate society and himself both from power and from want, and not see in society's wants and needs the means to personal power. "Pis'ma P. A. Kropotkina k V. N. Cherkezovu" Katorga i Ssylka No.25, 1926, pp.12-13.

31. Oskar Vikont was a Moscow lawyer who rejected even Kropotkin's anarchist communism as inhibiting the free individual. In essence, he believed two factors would lead to the creation of individualism: mental and technical progress, which would give man maximum comfort; and an ever increasing development of the forms of human communities, which would eventually lead the individual to reject anything enslaving of the human spirit. O. Vikont Anarkhicheskii individualizm (Moscow, 1906), pp.22-25.

32. At the Congress, the main critique came from Zabrezhnev, which he later expounded in his Ob individualisticheskom anarkhizme op.cit.

While he was principally concerned with exposing the "confused, contradictory" theory of Stirner, Zabrezhnev also attacked several of the Russian individualists, including Vikont and Novomirskii, who, as we noted above, became an individualist in 1907 when he published his Chto takoe anarkhizm op.cit.

Zabrezhnev also despised so called mystical anarchism, the creation of "decadents and erotomaniacs". Mystical anarchism is not discussed here as it was primarily an artistic concept fostered amongst the ranks of the intelligentsia and lying outside the mainstream of political life. For a good example of the style of writing see G. Chulkov O misticheskom anarkhizme (St. Petersburg, 1906).

33. P. A. Kropotkin "Must we occupy ourselves with an examination of the ideal of a future system" in M. A. Miller ed. Selected Writings on Anarchism and Revolution op.cit., p.83.
34. This remained true even after 1917, when, as one anarchist bemoaned, they "were united in one determination alone - to resist union into any more disciplined organisation than their own loose confederation of groups and individuals; for they believed, with the example of the Communists before

34. continued:
 them, that centralised organisation and discipline were the death of political integrity."
 Voline The Unknown Revolution op.cit., pp.182-183.
35. G. Woodcock Anarchism op.cit., p.15.
36. Khleb i Volia No.1, Aug. 1903, p.2.
37. Beznachalie No.1, April 1905, p.3.
38. D. Novomirskii Iz programmyi sindikal'nogo anarkhizma op.cit., p.17, 156.
39. Ibid., pp.167-170, 172-173, 177-179.
40. Burevestnik No.2, Aug.20, 1906, p.2.
41. Ibid., Np.3, Spet. 30, 1906, p.1. Burevestnik was also unwilling to go into further details about the type of organisation it had in mind for the anarchist movement, for "conspiratorial considerations", i.e. because of the presence of provocateurs euphemistically dubbed "undesirable elements".
42. See P. A. Kropotkin "The Revolution in Russia" in M. A. Miller ed. Selected Writings on Anarchism and Revolution op.cit., p.288.
43. One of Kropotkin's disciples, Vetrov, later wrote that Kropotkin had expected to be invited to the Petrograd Soviet upon arrival in Russia. Vetrov, himself a member of the Soviet, who had begun to sympathise with Bolshevism, claimed that "even if they had invited him, he would have had no influence.". I. Khizhnik "Vospominaniia o P. A. Kropotkine" op.cit., p.47.

44. After his death, anarchists claimed that Kropotkin had been a syndicalist from 1905, and some pointed to the fact that in Paris in 1906 he had more friends amongst the French syndicalists (notably Pouget and Griffuelles) than amongst the Russian anarchist community, many of whom, as avowed terrorists, were hostile to Kropotkin by this time. N. Kritskaia "Iz vospominania o P. A. Kropotkine" Byloe No.17, 1922, pp.75-76; I. Knizhnik "Vospominannia o P. A. Kropotkine" op.cit., p.29, 33; P.A. Kropotkin i ego uchenie op.cit., pp.107-108, 111-112, 118, 123-124.
45. D. Novomirskii Iz programmyi sindikal'nogo anarkhizma op.cit., pp.3-4.
46. Listki "Khleb i Volia" No.16, June 7, 1907, pp.4-5.
47. Ibid., No.17, June 21, 1907, p.4.
48. Voline The Unknown Revolution op.cit., p.182. (footnote).
49. Burevestnik No.8, Nov. 1907, p.11; Listki "Khleb i Volia" No.5, Dec. 28, 1906, p.9.
50. Burevestnik No.6-7, Sept.-Oct. 1907, p.2.
51. Ibid., p.6.
52. Ibid., p.9. See also Listki "Khleb i Volia" No.2, Nov. 14, 1906, p.5.

53. Of these, the most popular appear to have been the works of Kropotkin, Bakunin and Malatesta. As well as academic works on anarchism, most of which were translations from German studies of the 1890s, there were also anti-anarchist books, not least the one by Plekhanov. Some of these are cited in the bibliography.
54. Al'manakh op.cit., pp.6-7, 11-15. Depending on the speakers (Striga, for instance, was known to be a very popular orator), crowds of up to three thousand would gather in the Bialystok market. As for the literature from abroad, by now, as well as Khleb i Volia and the works of such authors as Kropotkin and Grave, it included Beznachalie. From within Russia Bor'ba had literature sent to it from Moscow, Kiev and St. Petersburg along with hectographed books from Boris Engelson in Riga.
- For an account of Bor'ba's success with the local soldiers in nearby Baranovichy, see Buntar' No.1, Dec.1, 1906, p.30.
55. Burevestnik No.8, Nov. 1907, p.10; Listki "Khleb i Volia" No.1, Oct.30, 1906, p.11; No.4, Dec.13, 1906, p.7. Obituaries to such famous terrorists as Aron Elin, published in Ekaterinoslav (6,000 copies), later turned up as far away as Nizhnyi-Novgorod.
56. Burevestnik No.5, April 1907, p.15; No.9, Feb. 1908, p.12.

56. Burevestnik No.5, April 1907, p.15; No.9, Feb. 1908, p.12.
57. Beznachalie No.1, April 1905, p.4. Rostovtsev was one of those peasant agitators who made use of a moving train to distribute leaflets written and printed by him. I. Genkin Po tiur'mam i etapam op.cit., p.289.
58. Burevestnik No.1, July 20, 1906, p.3.
59. D. Novomirskii Iz programmyi sindikal'nogo anarkhizma op.cit., p.16.
60. Ibid., pp.176-177.
61. In brief, the unsigned article claimed that violence as a means of struggle was eternal, since any government was nothing more than organised violence. "Take the history of any country", it pointed out, "examine all its political and economic upheavals, and you will see that the deeper was the upheaval, the more intensive was the terrorist period preceding it... We are now experiencing just such an historical moment when, to refrain from terror means to refrain from revolutionary activity". Khleb i Volia No.5, Dec. 1903, p.1.
62. "Pis'ma P. A. Kropotkina k V. N. Cherkezovu" op.cit., pp.15-16.

63. TsGAOR. f.1129, op.2, ed.khr.41, l.41-42.
M. Miller in his Kropotkin op.cit., p.206 believes the unsigned article to have been written by Gogel'ia himself (whom Kropotkin apparently considered to have been a possible agent provocateur). However, by the time he was writing for the revived Khleb i Volia in 1909, Gogel'ia's views on terrorism were substantially different to those in the unsigned pro-terror article (see, for instance, his article in No.1, March 1909, p.64). And Gogel'ia also soundly condemned the anarchist expropriations in Georgia as "one long debauch" Al'manakh op.cit., p.93.
64. These were the views expressed by Kropotkin on the subject at the December 1904 conference in London. L. Kulczycki Anarkhizm v sovremennom sotsial'no-politicheskom dvizhenii v Rossii op.cit., p.40.
65. Khleb i Volia No.3, Oct. 1903, p.3.
66. Ibid., No.14, Jan. 1905, p.1.
67. Russkaia revoliutsiia i anarkhizm: Doklady chitannye na s'ezde kommunistov - anarkhistov, v oktiabre 1906 goda: pod redaktsiiu P. Kropotkina (London, 1907). The resolutions appeared in Listki "Khleb i Volia", No.1, Oct.30, 1906, pp.6-9. Papers were presented by Kropotkin, Goldsmith, Zabrezhnev and Vetrov.

68. Listki "Khleb i Volia" No.1, Oct.30, 1906, p.7.
Kropotkin, however, was sufficiently pessimistic at this point to believe that the resolution against personal expropriations would have little effect, even if published in the new journal. He wrote to Goldsmith, "the position in Russia now is so awful that for us to come out with resolutions against expropriations, as we would wish, would be completely useless."
TsGAOR, f.1129, op.2, ed.khr.47, l.16.
69. Kropotkin abandoned the project in July, 1907, and passed over responsibility to the editorial group.
70. Listki "Khleb i Volia", No.1, Oct.30, 1906, p.1.
71. Ibid., No.3, Nov.28, 1906, pp.2-4; No.4, Dec.13, 1906, pp.3-4. For the views of another of the Listki "Khleb i Volia" editorial group, Vetrov, see his Anarkhizm, ego teoriia i praktika op.cit., pp.4, 29-31.
72. "The café chanteuses, those unfortunate creatures of bourgeois society, the so-called 'table-dandies', the book-keepers, shop-assistants... brokers, middle-men, for whose 'business' they are forced forever to sneak around 'public' places, the numerous restaurant waitresses, and the usual petty-bourgeoisie, philistines, etc. etc: these are the elements which one can always find in considerable quantities in all 'bourgeois' coffee-houses.". Burevestnik No.1, July 20, 1906, p.5.

73. Ibid.

74. A. Borovoi ed. Mikhailu Bakuninu, 1876-1926
op.cit., p.257. It seems likely that Novomirskii's
low opinion of the anarchist terrorists stemmed
from his own experience with his group in Odessa
which, when he returned from Vienna in the summer
of 1907, had degenerated into banditry on a large
scale. Unlike most anarchist groups, which perished
through lack of means, the Odessa anarchists appa-
rently fell apart through the consequence of too
much money.

75. D. Novomirskii Iz programmyi sindikal'nogo
anarkhizma op.cit., pp.163, 165-166.

76. Ibid., pp.175-177, 180. These views, however,
did not prevent Novomirskii and his comrades from
employing terrorist tactics themselves in Odessa.
Indeed, like Kropotkin, he openly accepted terror
as a tactic when directed against "obvious enemies
of the people", when it was used to back up strike
action, and when the act was so understood by the
masses that it had no need of any justification.

77. Buntar' No.1, Dec. 1906, p.2.

78. Ibid., pp.23-24.

79. Beznachalie No.2-3, June-July 1905, p.1.

80. Ibid., pp.1-3.

81. See, for instance, J. L. H. Keep The Rise of Social Democracy in Russia (O.U.P., 1963), p.150. Woodcock and Avakumovik, who admittedly provided an over-sympathetic account of the fate of the Russian anarchists, claimed that 1905 was "an uprising that fulfilled the theories of the anarchists much more completely than if it had been fought under their banner". G. Woodcock and I. Avakumovic The Anarchist Prince: A Biographical Study of Peter Kropotkin (London, 1950), p.359.
82. Khleb i Volia No.15, Feb. 1905, p.2.
83. Ibid., No.17, May 1905, p.6.
84. Ibid., No.19-20, July 1905, pp.9-10.
85. Listki "Khleb i Volia" No.3, Nov. 28, 1906, p.1.
86. Ibid., No.3, Dec.13, 1906, pp.1-2; P.A. Kropotkin "The Revolution in Russia" in M.A. Miller ed. Selected Writings on Anarchism and Revolution op.cit., pp.277-278.
87. Burevestnik No.2, August 20, 1906, p.2.
88. Ibid., No.5, April 30, 1907, p.2.
89. Listki "Khleb i Volia" No.5, Dec.28, 1906, p.1.
90. V. Gaidamakov Obvinitel'nyi akt protiv Sotsial-Demokratov i Sotsialistov-Revoliutsionerov, op.cit. , pp.52-56.
91. Khleb i Volia No.18, June 1905, p.6.

92. B. Gorev Anarkhizm v Rossii op.cit., p.76;
Al'manakh op.cit., p.94; P. Arshinov Dva pobega op.cit., p.6.
93. Burevestnik No.1, July 20, 1906, p.1; No.2, Aug.20, 1906, pp.3-4. The anarchists in general felt particularly bitter about the methods which, they claimed, the Social Democrats had employed during the revolution. Thus, Listki "Khleb i Volia" No.1, Oct.30, 1906, p.11, carried an article which stated that in Ekaterinoslav the socialists counteracted the influence of the anarchists by accusing the latter of being thieves, and by playing down the anarchists' influence in the workers' movement in their newspapers.

In the Urals, it seems that such ideological warfare was particularly fierce. Ibid., No.11, March 29, 1907, pp.5-6.

94. TsGAOR, f.1129, op.2, ed.khr.41, l.54; Khleb i Volia No.14, Jan. 1905, p.4.
95. Burevestnik No.2, Aug.20, 1906, p.5.
96. Buntar' No.1, Dec. 1906, p.16. Notwithstanding the similarity, the Maximalists could be distinguished most easily by their refusal to renounce the necessity for political authority immediately and totally following the social revolution. For a fuller description of their ideology, see B.I. Gorev Anarkhisty, maksimalisty i makhaevtsy op.cit., pp.45-57.

97. E. Ustinov Sovremennyi anarkhizm op.cit., p.23.

98. See, for instance, V. Rudnev (Bazarov) Anarkhicheskii kommunizm i marksizm (St. Petersburg, 1906); L. Kulczycki Anarkhizm v sovremennom sotsial'no-politicheskom dvizhenii v Rossii op.cit.; A. Shchepetev "Sovremennyi anarkhizm i klassovaia tochka zneniia" op.cit.

99. When news of the anarchist movement in Russia reached Plekhanov in Geneva in 1903, his followers wanted to publish a Russian edition of his Anarchism and Socialism, but he refused, as he considered that the Russian anarchists were "too few to be concerned about". The following year he also refused permission for Gogeliia's group of anarchists in Geneva to publish the book in Russian (they considered that the work could only aid in the spread of anarchism in Russia), since they represented an anti-Social Democratic group. G. Sandomirskii Plekhanov i anarkhisty (Moscow, 1918) pp.6-7.

100. V. I. Lenin "Sotsializm i anarkhizm" Poln.sobr. soch. op.cit., Vol.12, p.131.

101. For examples of Lenin's writings on the anarchists in 1905 and after, see V.I. Lenin "S bol'noi golovy na zdorovuiu" ibid., Vol.10, p.43 (footnote); "Proekt rezoliutsii ob uchastii sotsial-demokratii vo vremennom revoliutsionnom pravitel'stve" ibid., pp.124-125; "Doklad ob uchastii sotsial-demokratii vo vremennom revoliutsionnom pravitel'stve" ibid.,

101. continued:

p.136; "Dve taktiki sotsial-demokratii v demokraticheskoi revoliutsii" ibid., Vol.11, p.36, 83-84; "Melkoburzhuaznyi i proletarskii sotsializm" ibid., Vol.12, p.39; "Sotsial-demokratii i izbiratel'nye soglasheniia" ibid., Vol.14, p.76.

Mention should also be made of a series of articles by Stalin which appeared in the daily Georgian Bolshevik newspaper, Akhali Tskhovreba ("Our Life") in June and July 1906. Interestingly, Stalin warned that "we are not the kind of people who, when the word 'anarchism' is mentioned, turn away contemptuously and say with a supercilious wave of the hand: 'Why waste time on that, its not worth talking about...'. Nor are we the kind of people who console ourselves with the thought that the anarchists have no masses behind them and, therefore, are not so dangerous. It is not who has a large or smaller 'mass' following today, but the essence of the doctrine that matters.". J.V. Stalin Works Vol.I, 1901-1907 (Foreign Lang. Pub. House, 1953) pp.298-299.

102. See, for instance, V. Rudnev Anarkhicheskii kommunizm i marksizm op.cit., pp.155-157, 160; P. Strel'skii Novaia sekta v riadakh sotsialistov (Moscow, 1907).

103. Both Soviet and Western commentators have seen evidence of syndicalist tendencies during 1905, both in the formation of trade unions and soviets, and also in the organisation of the October general strike. See, for example, E. Iaroslavskii History of Anarchism in Russia op.cit., p.50; N. P. Babaeva "V. I. Lenin i peterburgskie bol'sheviki v bor'be protiv anarkhistov" op.cit., pp.137-138; O. Anweiler The Soviets: The Russian Workers, Peasants and Soldiers' Councils, 1905-1921 (New York, 1974) pp.8-11; S.V. Utechin Russian Political Thought op.cit., p.162.
104. Listki "Khleb i Volia" No.17, June 21, 1907, p.5.
105. E. Iaroslavskii History of Anarchism in Russia op.cit., pp.36-37; S.N. Kanev Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia i krakh anarkhizma op.cit., p.23.
106. Burevestnik No.1, July 20, 1906, pp.1-2.
107. Listki "Khleb i Volia" No.17, June 21, 1907, pp.4-5. Novomirskii also complained that much of the literature imported into Russia had been inadequate for the special conditions pertaining to that country, being altogether too abstract for the workers to empathise with. A. Borovoi ed. Mikhailu Bakuninu, 1876-1926 op.cit., p.249.
108. For example, a popular work, translated from the French, described the "typical anarchist" as follows: "Tall, thin, with thick greying hair, wearing a shabby coat, (he) was slowly smoking

108. continued:

a papirosa, staring thoughtfully into space. It would have been difficult to name his occupation, so frequently had he changed jobs. He had once studied at a public school, but failed his certificate... he wrote articles for newspapers, acted in the theatre, had been a teacher, office-worker, and clerk. At this precise moment, having no job, he was sitting (in a cafe) in front of a decanter of vodka and, without hurrying, was drinking glass after glass". N. Bol'shev Razgovor anarkhista s sotsialistom. Individualizm i kollektivizm (Moscow, 1908), pp.3-4.

109. Buntar' No.1, Dec. 1906, p.21.

110. Ibid., pp.22-23. In a fascinating insight into the psychology of the terrorist, Buntar' went on to explain that an anxiousness and impatience for the first opportunity to act was taking over the terrorists' natures. "It is interesting that some (indeed, quite a few) comrades are frightened of large 'centralised' acts, which require a long and complex organisation, for fear, as it were, that a stray bullet from a soldier's rifle might pierce them before the act has been carried out".

111. D. Novomirskii Iz programmyi sindikal'nogo anarkhizma op.cit., pp.179-180.

112. Kropotkin, for instance, wrote in his usual image-laden style that "conflicts between the representatives of the dark past and the young forces representing the future will certainly continue for some time before the mighty floods raised by the storm of the revolution subside". P. A. Kropotkin "The Revolution in Russia" in M. A. Miller ed. Selected Writings on Anarchism and Revolution op.cit., pp.286-7.
113. V. Gaidamakov Obvinitel'nyi akt Sotsial-Demokratov i Sotsialistov-Revoliutsionerov op.cit., p.50.
114. D. Novomirskii Iz programmyi sindikal'nogo anarkhizma op.cit., p.19.
115. Anarkhist No.1, Oct. 1907, p.14.

1. TsGAOR, f.102, op.8, ed.khr.12, tom.2, 1907g.,
l.52, 60.
2. Anarkhist No.1, Oct. 1907, p.30.
3. TsGAOR, f.102, op.8, ed.khr.12, tom.2, 1907g.,
l.227-8; S. Anisimov "Sud i rasprava nad
anarkhistami-kommunistami" op.cit., p.160.
4. TsGAOR, f.102, op.8, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1907g.,
l.147-8, 178-80, 225; S. Anisimov "Sud i rasprava
nad anarkhistami-kommunistami" op.cit., pp.136-7;
Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie v Rossii op.cit., p.482.

The group set themselves three tasks in a pro-
clamation which was published in the first
number of Anarkhist, in October. They were:

i) the organisation of economic and political
terrorist acts,

ii) the organisation of large expropriations,
so as to provide Russian and foreign groups
with money and weapons (the group claimed, despite
its avowedly pro-terrorist stance, to be non-
factional), and

iii) aid to local groups who wanted to carry out
terrorist acts. Anarkhist No.1, Oct. 1907, p.36.

To this end, about half of the 600,000 roubles
taken from the post-office was donated to
Burevestnik, while most of the remainder went
on the purchase of weapons in London.

5. Altogether, 105 people were arrested in Ekaterinoslav, Odessa, Kiev and Khar'kov, many on very little evidence. In the time between their arrest and the trial, eleven died in prison, two managed to escape and one went out of his mind. Another twenty prisoners, about whom no evidence at all could be found, were eventually freed. A short account of this mass arrest and trial appears in W. S. Woytinsky Stormy Passage op.cit., pp.169-171. For a full account see S. Anisimov "Sud i rasprava nad anarkhistami-kommunistami" op.cit., pp.129-176. Borisov, and his closest comrade-in-arms, Shtokman, were sentenced to death for their crimes. The judge, who was considered to have been lenient in his overall sentencing, was murdered the night after the trial ended. Ibid., pp.173-175.
6. The words "Svoboda Vnutri Nas" ("Freedom is Within Us") were written on the doors of many of the cells of the Simperopol' and Sevastopol' prisons around this time. A. Borisov ed. Mikhailu Bakuninu 1876-1926 op.cit., p.307.
7. Ibid., pp.307-313.
8. Thus the first transport to Borisov's group, which went via Austria, consisted of a thousand copies of Burevestnik, 18 Webleys, 4 Mausers and more than 8,000 bullets. TsGAOR, f.102, op.8, ed.khr. 12, tom.1, 1907g., l.178.

9. Ibid., 1.177. The industrialist concerned was renowned for helping revolutionary parties with money, and had in fact often given to the funds of Burevestnik, Ibid., 1.243.
10. Ibid., 1.260-261.
11. Ibid., 1.63, 138-139. In the first half of 1907 a "secret" plan was afoot to murder the German Emperor, so as to raise the activity of anarchists the world over. Two Bialystok anarchists were supposed to travel to meet up with a small émigré group in Germany, but on the way there one was killed and the other arrested. Ibid., 1.342.
12. Of those involved in the uncovering of Borisov's group, the two central provocateurs offered their services to the cause while posing as Dukhobors. Borisov gave them 2,000 roubles to organise a large-scale terrorist act, but instead they informed the Kiev and Ekaterinoslav branches of the Okhrana. S. Anisimov "Sud i rasprava nad anarkhistami-kommunistami" op. cit., pp.146-147.
13. The third expropriation was actually less than totally successful. Besides shooting an electrician, the group only managed to make off with 425 roubles. Two days later the fighting detachment sent the robbery victim a letter, apologising for having taken so little money from him. G. Novopolin "Makhno i gulai-pol'skaia gruppa

13. continued:

anarkhistov (Po ofitsial'nym dannym)" Katorga i Ssylka No.5 (34), 1927, p.72. The information for this article comes from evidence given at the trial of the Gulai-Pole anarchist group in Odessa, December 14, 1909.

14. Ibid., pp.70-71; S.N. Semanov "Makhnovshchina i ee krakh" Voprosy istorii No.9, Sept. 1966, p.38; P. Avrich The Russian Anarchists op.cit., p.209; M. Paliy The Anarchism of Nestor Makhno, 1918-1921 (Seattle and London, 1976), pp.60-61, 68-69; D.L. Golinkov Krushenie antisovetskogo podpol'ia v SSSR (1917-1925gg.) Moscow, 1975), p.377. For some reason Semanov puts Makhno's birth-date five years earlier, at 1884.

15. TsGAOR, f.102, op.8, ed.khr.12, tom.2, 1909g., 1.124-125; Burevestnik No.9, Feb. 1908, p.10; M. Ivanovich "Anarkhizm v Rossii" op.cit., p.89.

16. TsGAOR, f.102, op.8, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1907g., 1.76-77, 109,116,126,294,301; tom.2, 1907g., 1.37,49,69-70,124-5,151.

17. W.S. Woytinsky Stormy Passage op.cit., pp.150-160 provides an interesting account of anarchist presence in the huge Ekaterinoslav prison. Attempting to copy the successful mass escape from the Sevastopol' prison by dynamiting the wall from the inside, the Ekaterinoslav anarchist's plan backfired, leaving 27 dead and 44 wounded.

18. Istoriia kommunisticheskoi partii Sovetskogo Soiuza Vol.2 (Moscow, 1966), p.239. Figures here are bound to be vague, as the authorities rarely bothered to ascertain what political creed terrorist groups and individualists adhered to before the specially set-up field courts dealt out death sentences. Kropotkin, in his Terror in Russia op.cit. , pp.33-39, endeavoured to compile an array of statistics in the report to the British Parliamentary Russian Committee. His figures came from the Law Committee of the Duma, who were given the official Ministry of Interior figures on February 6, 1909, and from an examination of leading St. Petersburg and Moscow newspapers and the Law Review, Pravo, up to November 1, 1908. Both sets of figures are reproduced below:-

	<u>Official Figures</u>		<u>Kropotkin's Figures</u>	
	<u>Death Sentences</u>	<u>Executions</u>	<u>Death Sentences</u>	<u>Executions</u>
<u>Courts Martial</u>				
1905	72	10	96	32
1906	450	144	773	280
1907	1,056	456	1,432	508
1908 (to Nov.1)	1,741	825	1,835	802
<u>Field Courts Martial</u>				
Aug.19, 1906 - April 20, 1907:	-	683	-	676
<u>TOTAL:</u>	3,319	2,118	4,136	2,298

Source: P. A. Kropotkin Terror in Russia op.cit., p.34.

18. continued:

The death sentence columns give figures for pronounced sentences. Executions refer to sentences confirmed by the local authorities as having been carried out. Official figures do not include executions of the military, or those shot without trial (Kropotkin calculated the latter to be 1,331 for the four years under study).

19. Buntar' No.2-3, June-July, 1908, pp.10-12.

20. Ibid., p.16.

21. Ibid., No.4, Jan. 1909, pp.4-7.

22. Anarkhist No.1, Oct. 1907, p.15.

23. Ibid., p.16.

24. Ibid., No.2, April 1908, p.3.

25. Ibid., No.1, Oct. 1907, p.15.

26. The Okhrana files for 1907 show up very clearly that Burevestnik was obtaining funds from expropriations. The money was sent to one Maksim Dubinskii, who posed in Geneva as Dr. Dainov, and his wife. In return the Dainovs supplied literature, arms, and occasionally sent off activists into Russia, armed with a minimum of three Brownings and 300 bullets. Between June 1907 and February 1908 over 10,000 roubles was sent in this way.

TsGAOR, f.102, op.8, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1907g.,
1.40,84,115,145.

27. Burevestnik No.9, Feb. 1908, p.24.
28. Ibid., No.8, Nov. 1907, p.3.
29. Ibid., p.6.
30. TsGAOR, f.102, op.8, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1907g., 1.62-63.
31. A third group, the Kiev anarchists, were keen to hold a conference to rid the movement of all the "imposters, thieves and lunatics", but nothing substantial came out of their plan. G. Sandomirskii "K voprosu o Dmitrii Bogrove" op.cit., p.18. And the Moscow anarchists, in 1907, tried to organise a general All-Russian Congress, but their efforts were in vain, mainly because the provincial terrorist organisations refused to risk making a "public" appearance. TsGAOR, f.102, op.8, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1909g., 1.351.
32. Listki "Khleb i Volia" No.18, July 5, 1907, p.6.
33. The minutes and resolutions of this conference, held in Roslavl', are in TsGAOR, f.102, op.8, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1907g., 1.2-4. Not surprisingly, there was a strong terrorist flavour to the proceedings. However, the conference did call for an end to petty expropriations carried out by individual anarchists. Ironically, it also called for a resolute struggle against provocateurs within the movement. As for the main provocateur behind the conference, Chishikov, a full account of his activities is provided in R. Rocker The London Years (London, 1956), pp.189-191.

34. TsGAOR, f.102, op.8, ed.khr.12, tom.2, 1907, 1.34.
35. Ibid., tom.1, 1907, 1.140.
36. Zabrezhnev was the delegate from Khleb i Volia. Russian delegates attended from St. Petersburg, Bialystok, Ekaterinoslav and Georgia. N.Rogdaev Mezhdunarod'nyi s'ezd anarkhistov v Amsterdame (n.p. 1907), p.8.
37. Ibid., A copy of Rogdaev's report can also be found in Burevestnik No.8, Nov. 1907, pp.9-12.
38. N. Rogdaev Mezhdunarod'nyi s'ezd anarkhistov op. cit., p.14.
39. A short-lived International was in fact formed after the Congress. Little appears to have come from it. G. Woodcock Anarchism op.cit., p.251.
40. Anarkhist No.1, Oct.10, 1907, p.27.

Two months before the Congress was due to open, Listki "Khleb i Volia" lamented the fact that "The Russian comrades up till now have not revealed their position, either positively or negatively, towards the Congress". It continued, in a somewhat despairing fashion, "They should do, because our international comrades can teach us much - their experience in the countries where the anarchists movement rose up before us could teach us something and point out any mistakes". Listki "Khleb i Volia" No.17, June 21, 1907, p.7.

41. The Amsterdam Congress witnessed a head-on clash between Monatte, the French syndicalist who advocated the formation of revolutionary trade unions, and Malatesta, the ally of Kropotkin, who warned against slavish devotion to an essentially bourgeois institution. The anti-syndicalists at the Congress insisted that all delegates remember that they were anarchists, and so could not undertake any administrative duties or become part of the officialdom which was an inevitable adjunct to any trade union movement. But the resolution on this topic (carried by 33 votes to 10), while rejecting the pure syndicalist approach of Monatte, nevertheless endorsed the concept of syndicates and advised comrades to support all such organisations to which all the workers of one trade had access. N. Rogdaev Mezhdunarod'nyi s'ezd anarkhistov op.cit., pp.18-21.
42. Lenin warned the Vperedotsy against straying towards the side of syndicalism, soundly condemning otzovism as a reflection of anarchist influence in the Bolshevik ranks. The whole question of syndicalism obsessed Lenin in his writings after 1906. See especially "Ob otnoshenii rabochei partii k religii" Poln.sobr.soch., op.cit., Vol.17, pp.415-426. "O fraktsii storonnikov otzovizma i bogostroitel'stva" ibid., Vol.19, pp.74-108; "Ob A. Bogdanove" ibid., Vol.24, pp.338-341.

42. continued:

As for the Okhrana, it too was wary of anarcho-syndicalism. One of its agents reported in 1907 that he considered the ideology posed "an extremely serious threat to social order", and suggested the placing of an agent in the midst of its exponents in Geneva. TsGAOR, f.102, op.8, ed.khr.12, 1907 chast' 1-ia, l.91.

43. Burevestnik No.6-7, Sept.-Oct. 1907, pp.2-6. A somewhat milder view was taken by Askarov and his Anarkhist group, in the sense that they stressed more the importance of organising underground anarchist unions. Anarkhist actually looked quite favourably on the French syndicates, considering that it was only because they were legal organisations that they lacked real revolutionary fervour. It was the trade union movement in the rest of Europe, on the other hand, that had shown itself to have become historically unnecessary for the workers' struggle. Anarkhist No.1, Oct. 1907, pp.5-9; No.3, May 1909, pp.13-15.

44. Burevestnik No.8, Nov. 1907, pp.3-6. Raevskii followed this up with an equally stringent article on the Chernoznamenty and their negative attitude towards mass organisations, ibid., No.9, Feb. 1908, pp.1-3. And in later years he turned his pen against the "artificial" anarchism of Grossman's brother, Roshchin. Rabochii Mir No.2, March 1914, p.10.

45. Anarkhist No.1, Oct. 1907, p.14.

46. Burevestnik No.8, Nov. 1907, p.24.
 47. Ibid., No.9, Feb. 1908, p.24.
 48. Buntar' No.1, May 15, 1908, pp.11-12.
 49. Ibid., No.2-3, June-July 1908, pp.18,19,22-24.

That Buntar' itself was not keen to take on the responsibility for the convocation of a congress was made clear in reply to an appeal from a Zurich group of anarchists for the immediate convocation of a conference of Russian anarchists abroad. Buntar' answered that it was prepared to do so only if "such suggestions are forthcoming from at least three groups." Ibid., p.18.
 50. Ibid., p.24.
 51. Burevestnik No.13, Oct. 1908, pp.1-2.
 52. Burevestnik, for instance, had accepted that there were tactical differences, but concluded that "these disagreements, in our view, are of so little importance that we can ignore them". Ibid., No.2, Aug. 1906, p.3.
- By 1909 Goldsmith saw the difference between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks to be "not that great - the latter have faith in the existing Duma, while the former believe in a future, improved parliament". The only difference Goldsmith could see was perhaps the crucial one - that the Bolsheviks spent more time and attention on organisational questions, such as the creation of party cells and the links between them. Khleb i Volia No.1, March 1909, p.3b.

53. Ironically, Raevskii in 1907 was convinced that "this faction of Social Democracy is doomed to perish", since the enlightened Russian proletariat would quickly see through the fraudulence of the concept of the party as a dictatorship of the proletariat. Burevestnik No.6-7, Aug.20, 1906, p.3.
54. The journal was in debt from No.16, June 1907. It finished a month later, after 18 issues.
55. TsGAOR., f.1129, op.2, ed.khr.43, l.48. Kropotkin was however, still considered worthy of an invitation to the Russian Social Democrats' Congress in London in May 1907. Kropotkin is supposed to have invited in turn, ten of the delegates, Voroshilov included, to take tea with him. N.M. Pirumova Petr Alekseevich Kropotkin op.cit., p.173.
56. For a history of the Anarchist Red Cross, see B. Yelensky In the Struggle for Equality: The Story of the Anarchist Red Cross (Chicago, 1958)
57. This can be seen particularly well in the case of Novomirskii, arrested in Odessa on 21 Oct., 1907 after returning from the apparent safety of Geneva. The Okhrana records show that they had wind of his intentions from the end of August 1907. TsGAOR., f.102, op.8, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1907, l.52,75,114.

58. Burevestnik No.14, Jan. 1909, pp.2-7. According to Grossman-Roshchin, Gogeliia became widely known in French syndicalist circles when he lived in Paris after his spell in Georgia. Before moving to Italy with Roshchin, Gogeliia wrote several syndicalist works which were published in London, notably O rabochikh soiuzakh (London, 1907) and Kak i iz chego razvilsia revoliutsionnyi sindikalizm (London, 1909).
59. P. Arshinov Dva pobega op.cit., p.56. Other leading Russian anarchists who were in Paris in 1907 included the anarchist communists Arshinov, Vetrov and Zabrezhnev.
60. Anarkhist No.2, April 1908, p.21; Burevestnik No.15, March 1909, p.20; TsGAOR, f.102, op.8, ed.khr.12, tom.2, 1907g., l.113-114. Proclamations by the main Ekaterinoslav group are known to have continued to be distributed until the summer of 1908.
61. TsGAOR, f.102, op.9, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1908g., l.265,301. Muzil arrived in Ekaterinoslav at the end of April, 1908 from Paris, with the aim of freeing Borisov from prison. (Borisov knew the whereabouts of 20,000 roubles of expropriated money, hidden somewhere in Sevastopol') Muzil was also keen to free Noromirskii from the Odessa goal, but he had no success on either count. Ibid., l.49. 17,000 roubles of the money taken in Khotin was spent on the publication of a collection of articles on the anarchists in the 1905 revolution,

61. continued:
Al'manakh op.cit., of which Rogdaev, Muzil's brother, was the editor, ibid., 1.265.
62. Burevestnik No.15, March 1909, p.20; TsGAOR f.102, op.9, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1908g., 1.20,223.
63. TsGAOR, f.63, op.16, 1.1; op.16, ed.khr.438, 1909g., 1.54. The Moscow group had got under way courtesy of funds from Odessa. It is more than possible that these groups worked in tandem with SR terrorists.
64. A particularly large catch was made on May 8, 1908, when the Okhrana picked up a boat carrying a mass of literature, including a thousand copies of Burevestnik, and arms equipment. Ibid., f.102, op.9, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1908g., 1.136.
65. Ibid., tom.1, 1907g., 1.304-305. The report listed agents at work in the following towns: Bialystok, Warsaw, Grodno, Kiev, Odessa, Ekaterinoslav, Minsk and Briansk.
66. A good example of this suspiciousness can be seen in a letter, dated November 1908, sent to an anarchist in Bialystok from the West. The sender demanded a reply to his letter before he was willing to despatch literature regularly through the post to Bialystok. The fact that this letter was intercepted by the Okhrana shows that his fears were not ill-founded. Ibid., op.9, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1908g., 1.297.
67. Burevestnik No. 8, Nov. 1907, pp.1-2.

68. Anarkhist No.2, April 1908, pp.20-22.
69. TsGAOR, f.102, op.9, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1908g., 1.44.
70. Ibid., 1.236-237. The five man editorial, Raevskii, Rogdaev, Vetrov, Gogeliia and Dr. Aleksandr Nikolenko, all lived in Paris by this time.
71. For a full account of his activities see his autobiography, R. Rocker The London Years op.cit., pp.177-195.
72. Ibid., p.191. Thus in Nov. 1909 Rocker had great difficulty in dissuading a small group of Russian anarchist terrorists from throwing a bomb at the Lord Mayor's show. The same group had apparently also considered killing Kropotkin, "because his moderate views were holding back the revolutionary forces.". Ibid., pp.192-3.
73. The best account of what came to be known as the Tottenham murders is D. Rumbelow The Houndsditch Murders and the Siege of Sidney Street (London, 1973), pp.15-37.
74. The public outcry that followed the murders was undoubtedly fuelled in part by the Okhrana, which saw as its task the stirring up of hatred in liberal Britain against emigres of all kinds. TsGAOR, f.102, op.8, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1909g., 1.14-15.
75. The Okhrana aimed to keep close tabs on all such groups, especially those that planned to bomb inside Russia. TsGAOR, f.102, op.8, ed.khr.12,

75. continued:
tom.1, 1909g., 1.1,46; op.11, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1910g., 1.98-101,145. A collection of recipes for the preparation of explosives, Iskusstvo delat' bomby, was printed in Brussels around this time.
76. Ibid., 1.33; I. Knizhnik "Vospominaniia o P. A. Kropotkine" op.cit., pp.39-45. In June 1917, Vetrov, now calling himself I. Knizhnik, became a member of the Petrograd Soviet, delegated by the 178th reserve infantry regiment, where he was serving as a clerk. At that time he was writing and publishing brochures of a christian socialist nature, moving ever closer to Bolshevism, ibid., p.47.
77. P. Arshinov History of the Makhnovist Movement op.cit., pp.13-15; P. Arshinov Dva pobega op.cit., pp.5-68; Gonenia na anarkhizm op.cit., p.48.
78. TsGAOR, f.102, op.8, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1909g., 1.32,38,45. Other terrorists were not so skilful at avoiding the Okhrana as Kozlovskii. Moshe Tokar, a Warsaw Jew, had escaped from prison in 1907 and found his way to London via Paris. Tokar returned in January 1909 to take personal revenge on the military commander of Vilna, Hershelman, who had been responsible for terrible tortures inflicted on political prisoners. His assassination attempt in December failed, and he was sentenced to death in January 1910. He became a martyr to the cause by pouring parafin over his

78. continued:

his clothes and setting fire to himself. R. Rocker The London Years op.cit., pp.144-195. Tokar's obituary appeared in Anarkhist No.5, March 1910, p.1.

79. TsGAOR, f.102, op.8, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1909g., 1.62,91-98,121,124,159-160,174-175,262; f.63, op.1b, ed.khr.438, 1909g, 1.7-48.

The Moscow group had had links with soldiers stationed in the locality, and appears to have been centred around the Gustav List factory.

80. Ibid, f.111, op.5, ed.khr.293, 1910g. 1.1-3.

The figure of 77 arrests compares with 62 SRs and 54 SDs in the same period.

81. Ibid., f.102, op.8, ed.khr.12, 1909, tom.1, 1909g., 1.81,262. At this time Grossman-Roshchin was living in Paris under the name Shuberskii.

82. Burevestnik No.15, March 1909, pp.3-5.

83. TsGAOR, f.102, op.8, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1909g., 1.81,90,134,327,334.

84. Anarkhist No.4, Sept. 1909, pp.18-21.

85. TsGAOR, f.102, op.8, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1909g., 1.81,134.

86. TsGAOR, f.1129, op.2, ed.khr.43, 1.77. Much of Kropotkin's time was now taken up with the plight of political prisoners in Russia. In 1908 he and his wife played a particularly active role in the

86. continued:
organisation of meetings and lectures in England, and in fund-raising activities. The following year he published The Terror in Russia, a pamphlet which received a wide circulation. See Leburzhua "P.A. i S.G. Kropotkin v dele pomoshchi russkim ssyl'-nym" Katonga i Ssylka No.1 (22), 1926, pp.141-143.
87. Khleb i Volia No.1, March 1909, pp.57-64.
See also Gogeliia's article on the sources of anarchism in Burevestnik No.18, 1909, pp.2-6.
88. See Raevskii's article on the situation in Russia in Khleb i Volia No.1, March 1909, pp.53-56.
89. TsGAOR, f.102, op.8, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1909g., l.351.
90. See D. Rumbelow op.cit.; subsequent to the Houndsditch murders the anarchists, led by Rocker, convened a "comrades' court" to try to find the provocateur responsible. They were unable to prove anything, and instead resorted to deploring the moral quality of those accused. TsGAOR, f.102, op.11, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1910g., l.171-173.
91. TsGAOR, f.102, op.11, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1910, l.193.
92. Ibid., op.8, ed.khr.12, tom1, 1909, l.373.

93. Bogrov's political career was a chequered one. When the 1905 revolution broke out, he was an SR in Kiev University. After 1906, however, he joined up with the local anarchists, who were led by German Sandomirskii. Anarchists such as Vetrov, who met Bogrov in Paris in 1907, were suspicious of the man from the beginning. Others, such as Sandomirskii and Grossman-Roshchin, were convinced that he was ideologically pure. Either way, Bogrov returned to Russia in 1908 with the aid of a passport belonging to a real person, considered at that time to be worth its weight in gold amongst the emigres. By September 1911, when the assassination was carried out (there had already been a failed attempt three weeks earlier by a St. Petersburg group of SR Maximalists), Bogrov was definitely working for the Okhrana, although Sandomirskii believed that he never gave anyone away before he was hanged. For conflicting views on Bogrov's links with the Okhrana, see G. Sandomirskii "K voprosu o Dmitrii Bogrove" op.cit., pp.11-34; P. Liatkovskii "Nechto o Bogrove" in Katorga i Ssylka No.2,(23), 1926, 35-49; I. Knizhnik "Vospominaniia o Bogrove, ubiitse Stolypina" Krasnaia Letopis' No.5, 1923, pp.287-294.
94. Grossman-Roshchin announced his conversion in a letter to a friend in Moscow in May 1911, which was intercepted by the Okhrana. He remained at odds, however, with both syndicalism and Kropotkin's views. TsGAOR, f.102, op.240, ed.khr.12,tom.1, 1910g., l.13.

95. M. Korn Bor'ba s kapitalom i vlast'iu (London, 1912), pp.13-15,17-18,20-25.
96. P.A. Kropotkin i ego uchenie op.cit., p.190.
97. His links with anarchism communism appear to have gone back at least until 1909, when he wrote under the pseudonym of A. Kochegarov for Khleb i Volia. See No.2, July 1909, pp.21-37. Previous to this he was connected with the SRs.
98. TsGAOR, f.102,op.13, ed.khr.12, tom.3, 1912g., 1.8-10,42.
99. Ibid., 1.102.
100. Ibid., 1.3-4; Some sixteen pamphlets were produced by the Brotherhood in 1913, all written by Karelin and Zabrezhnev. Many were translated into Yiddish.
101. Ibid., tom.1, 1912g., 1.15-19; op.14, ed.khr.12, 1.1-5,11-12,30-32.
102. Rabochii Mir, No.5, Feb. 1913, p.5.
103. TsGAOR, f.102, op.14, ed.khr.12, 1.86-109,115.
104. Ibid., 1.110,144.
105. Ibid., 1.58-60.
106. Gogelina at this time still headed his own group of Paris anarcho-syndicalists, but he had become largely disillusioned with revolutionary matters by 1913. Ibid., 1.172-173; E.Koval'skaia "Moe znakomstvo s Komando Gogeliei (Orgeiani)" op.cit., p.214.

107. Invitations were sent to Roshchin and Gogeliia, but they did not reply to them. TsGAOR, f.102, op.14, ed.khr.12, 1.235-236.
108. Ibid., 1.364-373. In short, the provisions were that each group should not contain more than five members (for conspiratorial reasons), and that each group should remain fully autonomous within the proposed federation. Subscriptions, of not less than 25 francs a week, were to go to the Anarchist Red Cross, the federation's organ, and the sending of weapons for comrades in Russia. New groups could enter the federation only if they were known to two members of an already existing group. Finally, literature was to be distributed quickly by means of passing on ever smaller batches to "reliable" workers. It was not to be kept in a flat for more than twenty hours.
109. Ibid., 1.330-331,363. The spy was a "guest" from Moscow, one "Stepan", who used the name Malorossa when reporting to the Okhrana. He had openly disagreed with Rogdaev on the need for terror and expropriations at the congress. He apparently returned quickly to Russia when the discovery was made. Ibid., 1.72,294-295, 308. Karelin suspected Rogdaev because the latter had been arrested in Belgrade in 1910 and then quickly released and returned to France.

110. Ibid., 1.351-352. Karelin, who was suspected of fiddling the Brotherhood's accounts, was even prepared to go to court over the matter of the printing-press.
111. Rabochii Mir No.7, July 20, 1913, p.1.
112. TsGAOR, f.102, op.14, ed.khr.12, 1.321. Although the London anarchists appear to have become fairly unified by this time, they were still plagued by groups of Latvian anarchists, bent on carrying out terrorist acts. Ibid., 1.297,406.
113. Ge was one of four anarchists responsible for organising the conference. Schapiro, Gogeliia and Ge were three of five who made up a commission to deal with points arising from the agenda. Delegates came from London, Liege, Geneva, Zurich and Lausanne, ibid., op.15, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1914g., 1.50-60.
114. Ibid., 1.65-83. The Secretariat consisted of Schapiro (London), F.A. Aleksandrovich (London) and Dolin (Liusin) (Zurich).
115. Ibid., 1.92-113. Raevskii was one candidate who was rejected, and there was less than unanimous agreement for Ge. Both were considered too pro-syndicalist by some of the delegates. A College of Lecturers was also set up, charged with responsibility for conducting the Federation's oral propaganda. These were Goldsmith, Gogeliia, Grossman-Roshchin, Raevskii, Ge and Aleksei Vinogradov (a Paris anarchist also known as Bessel and Aristov).

116. Rabochii Mir, Feb. 1914, No.1, pp.3-5,11.
Grossman-Roshchin's article was attacked in the next issue by Raevskii, who disliked his appraisal of the value of syndicalism to the movement. Raevskii accused Grossman-Roshchin of returning to the old polemic which the syndicalists had had with the Chernoznamentalsy, ibid., March 1914, No.2, pp.10-11.
117. Ibid., April 1914, pp.2-4,8,10-11.
118. Ibid., pp.11-12. The article brought forth a long condemnation in the June issue of Rabochii Mir, (No.5, pp.2-5).
119. TsGAOR, f.102, op.15, ed.khr.12, tom.3, 1914g. 1.47.
120. Ibid., tom.1, 1914g., 1.1-3,27. Not surprisingly, the commission was also greatly disliked by the Okhrana agents working amongst the Paris anarchists.
121. Ibid., tom.3, 1914g., 1.2-4. By 1914 there were at least six different Russian anarchist groups in Paris, two of which were purely literary theoretical circles, one of which was exclusively Jewish, and one of which was avowedly terrorist, ibid., tom.1, 1914g., 1.48.
122. Ibid., 1.44-47. Karelin and his supporters refused to withdraw their accusation of Rogdaev being an Okhrannik.
123. Ibid., tom.3, 1914g., 1.63-68.

124. Ibid., tom.1, 1914g., 1.147.
125. Ibid., 1.205-209,216,226-232. The Congress also came out fiercely against expropriations and the role of the bourgeois intelligentsia in the workers' movement. The Anarchist Red Cross was also successful in New York at this time, bringing out two numbers of its own Golos Ssyl'nykh i Zakliuchennykh Russkikh Anarkhistov in Nov.1913 and Oct.1914.
126. Ibid., op.240, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1910g., 1.35-39.
127. A. Borovoi ed. Mikhailu Bakuninu, 1876-1926 op. cit., pp.314-315.
128. Ibid., pp.315-318.
129. TsGAOR, f.102, op.14, ed.khr.190. The list featured 331 names on it in all, 187 of which were classified as anarchists.
130. Ibid., f.111, op.5, ed.khr.282, 1.39,42,47.
The Okhrana believed it had liquidated the group in Nov. 1912. At least nine issues of Anarkhist appeared in St. Petersburg up to May 1914.
131. Rabochii Mir, June 1914, No.5, pp.1-2.
132. TsGAOR, f.102, op.15, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1914g., 1.162,187,194; Freedom: A Journal of Anarchist Communism (London) July 1914, p.55.
133. An early example of this was the brochure, Chto nam delat' v armii? (Mysly ofitsera) (n.p. 1903), which condemned the opportunist nature of talk of

133. continued:

a militia, arguing that the principle of organization of all armies was the same. See also, Almanakh op.cit., pp.178-179; Burevestnik No.13, Oct. 1908, pp.2-6.

134. N. Rogdaev, Mezhdunarodnyi s'ezd anarkhistov v Amsterdame op.cit., p.25; Freedom, July 1914, p.55.

135. Up to and including the Russo-Japanese war in 1904 Kropotkin's public statements on war were consistent with the rest of the revolutionary movement. See, for instance, Khleb i Volia No.7, Feb. 1904, p.6.

136. I. Knizhnik "Vospominaniia o P.A. Kropotkine" op.cit., p.35.

137. Quoted in N. M. Pirumova Petr Alekseevich Kropotkin op.cit., p.184.

138. At the onset of the war Goldsmith had written to Kropotkin suggesting that they restart Listki "Khleb i Volia". But Kropotkin in his reply asked what she intended to fill the pages with: "Threats to the government? Criticism of the military actions?" TsGAOR, f.1129, op.2, ed.khr.45, l.39.

139. The major names on the Manifesto were, apart from Kropotkin, Cherkezov, Grave, Malato, Cornelissen, and Guillaume. After the war had ended, there were attempts made by Russian anarchists to square Kropotkin's "anarcho-patriotism" with the rest of his ideology. A good example of

139. continued:

this is the work of G. Sandomirskii. See his Petr Alekseevich Kropotkin. Uchitel' mezhdunarodnago anarkhizma op.cit., pp.6-7, and Torzhestvo antimilitarizma (Moscow, 1920).

140. Nabat, No.4, Aug.1915, pp.9-10. A manifesto condemning the war was published by the London anarchists in the March, 1915 issue of their journal, Freedom (p.21).

141. In its second number, in May 1915, Nabat published a manifesto calling for widespread propaganda against the continuation of the war, signed by members of the Anarchist International. The signatories included Berkman, Bertoni, Goldman, Malatesta and Schapiro. Nabat (Geneva) May-June 1915, No.2-3, pp.3-4.

A further declaration, this time against the Manifesto of the sixteen, was signed by Grossman-Roshchin, Ge and Gogeliia in Aug. 1916. See Put' k Svobode (Geneva) May 1917, pp.10-11.

142. Goldsmith argued that Kropotkin's attitude, far from being strange, was entirely consistent with all his previous writings. He had always made a distinction between theoretical propaganda against war in general and the position which had to be taken when a war began, when the weak had to be defended against the naked aggression of the strong. And, she concluded, antimilitarist propaganda would have no effect during a war so long as such a powerful force as patriotism was

142. continued:

capable of capturing the emotions of the masses. Golos Truda, No.16, Dec.18, 1914, p.1; No.17, Dec.25, 1914, p.2; No.30, March 26, 1915, pp.2-3. For examples of anti-militarist articles in Golos Truda see ibid., No.18, Jan.1, 1915, p.2; No.19, Jan.8, 1915, p.2; No.23, Feb.5, 1915, p.1; No.30, March 26, 1915, p.1.

143. A. Ge Put' k pobede (Lausanne, Feb. 1917), pp. 49-89.

144. See especially Lenin's "O zadachakh oppotsitsii vo Frantsii", (which appeared as a separate pamphlet in 1916 in Geneva) in Poln. sobr. soch. op. cit., Vol.27, p.238.

145. The difficulties that Nabat suffered were outlined in an article by Rogdaev, where he admitted that the journal had almost closed down after one issue, due to what he termed the defeat of the international workers' movement. Nabat, May-June, 1915, Nos.2-3, p.2.

146. TsGAOR, f.102, op.15, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1914g., 1.204. The resolutions taken at this meeting appear in ibid., 1.175-178.

147. Ibid., 1.217,235-243. Most of the Samara anarchists known to the Okhrana appear to have been former SRs, converted to anarchism in exile.

148. Ibid., f.111, op.5, ed.khr.282, l.49; ed.khr.509, l.25-39. The Okhrana believed most of the proclamations were distributed in the Narvskii and Moskovskii raions of the city.
149. A. Borovoi ed. Mikhailu Bakuninu, 18'6-1926 op.cit. pp.318-321. The Moscow anarcho-syndicalists operated principally amongst workers of the Danilovskii works and the workshops of the Sokol'nicheskii raion, and refused to come to any tactical arrangement with the local Bolsheviks, who had offered to join forces with them. The group also managed to further their links with anarchists in the West, despite the restrictions of war.
150. Ibid.
151. An Odessan, Barmash had already served a short sentence for his involvement in the strikes of 1905 before he arrived in Moscow in 1906. Here he distinguished himself as a terrorist, and was duly arrested in August for his part in a major robbery of an oil company. Because the court had declared him insane, his sentence was not long, and he was released in 1910. Constantly under observation by the Okhrana, Barmash did much in the war years to spread anarchist propaganda, particularly in the villages in the area to the south and east of Moscow. The Okhrana even had a file especially devoted to him: T'sGAOR, f.63, op.14, ed.khr.470.
152. B. Gorev Anarkhizm v Rossii op.cit., p.103.

1. Golos Truda, No.129, March 16, 1917, p.1.
2. Ibid., No.130, March 23, 1917, p.1; No.131 March 30, 1917, p.1.
3. Ibid., No.132, April 6, 1917, p.1.
4. Ibid., No.133, April 13, 1917, p.1.
5. Ibid., p.2; No.134, April 20, 1917, p.2; No.135, April 27, p.2; No.136, May 4, p.2; No.137, May 11, p.2.
6. Put' k Svobode May 1917, pp.6-7.
7. Ibid., pp.7-8. Like Voline and Grossman-Roshchin, Dolenko was another anarchist communist who had modified his views since moving from Paris to Geneva in 1910. As a member of Borisov's terrorist group, he was arrested in February 1908, but managed to escape. S. Anisimov "Sud i rasprava nad anarkhistami-kommunistami" op.cit., p.144.
8. A. Borovoi ed. Mikhailu Bakuninu, 1876-1926, op.cit., pp.321-322.
9. W. S. Woytinsky Stormy Passage op.cit., p.244 mentions the setting up of an anarchist group amongst the exiles in Irkutsk the day after news of the amnesty for political prisoners reached the town.
10. A. Borovoi ed. Mikhailu Bakuninu, 1876-1926 op.cit. p.322.

11. An example of this occurred on April 21. Prior to a workers' demonstration, a lorry taken by anarchists drove around displaying the slogans, "Down with the Provisional Government" and "Let capitalism rot: Let the machine-gun and sword smash it". During the demonstration itself a mob followed behind bearing a black banner with a skull and cross-bones drawn on it. Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv Leningradskoi Oblasti (GIALO) f.487, op.1, deb.2631, l.8,38,111.
B. Gorev Anarkhizm v Rossii op.cit., p.107.
12. The anarchists had their best showing, in the early days of the revolution, in the Novyi Lessner, Erikson and Treugol'nik factories in Petrograd. L.A. Kuzina "Iz istorii bor'by bol'shevikov protiv anarkhistov" op.cit., p.125.
13. V.I. Startsev Ocherki po istorii petrogradskoi krasnoi gvardii i rabochei militsii (mart 1917-aprel' 1918g.) (Moscow-Leningrad, 1965), pp.83-84.
14. V. Zalezhskii Anarkhisty v Rossii op.cit., p.30.
15. Goneniia na anarkhizm op.cit., pp.62-63.
16. F.F. Raskol'nikov "Kronshtadt i Piter - v 1917g." Krasnaia Letopis' No.21, 1927, p.202; I.P. Flerovskii Bol'shevistskii Kronshtadt v 1917 godu (Leningrad, 1957), p.19.
17. Novaia Zhizn' June 6, 1917, p.3; Rech' June 6, 1917, p.5. One Soviet account puts the number of those involved in the seizure as nearer a hundred.

17. continued:
L.A. Kuzina "Iz istorii bor'by bol'shevikov protiv anarkhistov" op.cit., p.126.
18. Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Oktiabr'skoi Revoliutsii Leningradskoi Oblasti (GAORLO), f.131, op.3, d.27, l.35-36.
19. Rech' June 9, 1917, p.3; Petrogradskie bol'sheviki v oktaibr'skoi revoliutsii (Leningrad, 1957), p.169. For an account of the mood inside the Durnovo dacha following the strikes, see Izvestiia Petrogradskogo Soveta June 9, 1917, pp.10-11, where it was suggested that the Russkaia Volia raid was the work of the counterrevolution, hoping to institute a blood-bath.
20. Pervyi legal'nyi peterburgskii komitet bol'shevikov v 1917g. (Moscow, 1927), p.163,173.
21. Ibid., p.164. See also the report in Rech', June 10, 1917, p.5.
22. I.P. Flerovskii Bol'shevistskii Kronshtadt v 1917 godu op.cit., p.45. Flerovskii considered that from this point on, the Kronstadt Bolsheviks could count on Iarchuk as an ally. Iarchuk is supposed to have declared: "It is impossible to move without the Bolsheviks, without organization, without leadership".

23. E. M. Kornoukhov "Deiatel'nost' partii bol'shevikov po razoblacheniiu mel'koburzhuaznoi revoliutsionnosti anarkhistov" op.cit., pp.292-293.
24. Pervyi legal'nyi peterburgskii komitet op.cit., p.173,178. The Bolshevik Committee reckoned the Metallicheskie works to be the anarchists' main stronghold amongst the Petrograd workers.
25. Pravda, June 14, 1917, p.1. Stalin, while noting that Bolsheviks were against anarchists in principle, conceded that "they have the same right to existence as, let us say, the Mensheviks and SRs." See also Rech' June 15, 1917, p.2.
26. A. Rabinowitch Prelude to Revolution (Indiana University Press, 1968), p.101.
27. Izvestiia Petrogradskogo Soveta June 20, 1917, p.5; Petrogradskii Sovet rabochikh i soldatskikh deputatov. Protokoly Iсполnitel'nogo Komiteta i Biuro Iсполnitel'nogo Komiteta (Moscow, 1925), p.199. Khaustov had been editor of the newspaper Okopnaia Pravda. Altogether, seven prisoners were released, some of whom were apparently common criminals.
28. Rech', June 20, 1917, p.4. The Provisional Government denied instigating the violence. As for Asin, he appears to have fitted the image of the anarchist to perfection. He had acquired a reputation for giving speeches in Kronstadt's Anchor Square, dressed in a long, black coat,

28. continued:

black shirt, high hunting-boots, a pair of revolvers in his belt, with a fearsome-looking rifle against which he leaned while he spoke.

I.P. Flerovskii Bol'shevistskii Kronshtadt v 1917 godu op.cit., p.45.

29. GIALO, f.7384, op.1, d.2, l.43-44; Izvestiia Petrogradskogo Soveta June 20, 1917, pp.5-7; June 21, 1917, pp.4-8,10; Pervyi legal'nyi peterburgskii komitet op.cit., p.185. Five factories went out on strike: Rozenkrants, Metallicheskii, Feniks, Staryi Parviainen and Promet.

30. Pervyi legal'nyi peterburgskii komitet op.cit., pp.186-190,193; see also Kamenev's article on the "adventurism" of the anarchists in Pravda June 22, 1917, p.2.

31. L.A. Kuzina "Iz istorii bor'by bol'shevikov protiv anarkhistov" op.cit., pp.137-138; E.M. Kornoukhov "Deiatel'nost' partii bol'shevikov po razoblacheniiu melkoburzhuznoi revoliutsionnosti anarkhistov" op.cit., p.299.

32. P. Stulov "1-yi pulemetnyi polk v iiul'skie dni 1917g." Krasnaia Letopis' No.3(36), 1936, p.73.

33. This information is taken from the reminiscences of A. Fedorov, one of the leaders of the Federation and a member of the Petrograd Soviet. Some fourteen anarchists are supposed to have attended the meeting. See O.N. Znamenskii Iiul'skii Krizis 1917 goda (Moscow-Leningrad, 1964) p.46.

34. GIALO, f.1695, op.2, d.11, l.41,230; L.A. Kuzina "Iz istorii bor'by bol'shevikov protiv anarkhistov" op.cit., p.138.
35. V.I. Startsev Ocherki po istorii petrogradskoi krasnoi gvardii op.cit., pp.85-88.
36. L.A. Kuzina "Iz istorii bor'by bol'shevikov protiv anarkhistov" op.cit., pp.139-140; O.N. Znamenskii Iiul'skii Krizis 1917 goda op.cit., pp.53-64; S.N. Kanev Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia i krakh anarkhizma op.cit., pp.80-83.
37. V.I. Startsev Ocherki po istorii petrogradskoi krasnoi gvardii op.cit., pp.90-93.
38. P. Stulov "1-yi polemetnyi polk" op.cit., p.98. Bleikhman's slogan was presented to the machine-gunners' meeting on July 3 as the only organisation and planning needed for the revolution.
39. V.I. Lenin "Ob otnoshenii rabochei partii k religii" Poln.sobr.soch. op.cit., Vol.17, p.421.
40. V.I. Lenin "Kak V. Zasulich ubivaet likvidatorstvo" ibid., Vol.24, pp.36-37.
41. It has been argued, and not just by anarchists, that the slogan "All Power to the Soviets" was originally an anarchist one "borrowed" by Lenin for the revolution. See A. Masters Bakunin (London, 1974), p.258.
42. Voline The Unknown Revolution op.cit., p.209; see also G.P. Maksimov The Guillotine at Work

42. continued:
op.cit., pp.345-346. Even some early soviet works took this line. See V. Zalezhskii Anarkhisty v Rossii op.cit., p.30.
43. V. I. Lenin "Doklad na sobranii bol'shevikov 4(17) apreliia 1917g." Poln.sobr.soch., op.cit., Vol.31, pp.103-112.
44. This was particularly so in Kronstadt, where differences between Bolsheviks and anarchists amongst the sailors were said to be unimportant. F.F. Raskol'nikov "Kronshtadt i Piter" op.cit., p.202; V.N. Zalezhskii Iz vospominanii podpol'shchika (Moscow, 1931), pp.180-181.
45. Rech', June 8, 1917, p.2.
46. See L.M. Slavin "Iz istorii bor'by V.I. Lenina s anarkhistami po voprosam gosudarstva, revoliutsii i diktatury proletariata" Problemy filosofii: Sbornik statei (Alma-Ata, 1968), pp.234-235.
47. Rech', June 20, 1917, p.2, June 23, 1917, p.4; L.A. Kuzina "Iz istorii bor'by bol'shevikov protiv anarkhistov" op.cit., pp.134-135; E.M. Kornoukhov "Deiatel'nost' partii bol'shevikov po razoblacheniui melkoburzhua~~zno~~i revoliutsionnosti anarkhistov" op.cit., p.295. For a Menshevik appraisal of the similarity between Bolshevism and anarchism, carrying on from Plekhanov's view, see G.Abramov Anarkhizm ili sotsializm? (Moscow, 1917), pp.28-30.
48. V.I. Lenin "Internatsional molodezhi", Poln.sobr.soch. op.cit., Vol.30, pp.227-8.

49. V.I. Lenin "Pis'ma o taktike" ibid., Vol.31, p.138; see also "Zadachi proletariata v nashei revoliutsii" ibid., p.180.
50. V.I. Lenin "Gosudarstvo i revoliutsiia" ibid., Vol.33, pp.52-53,89,112-113,116-117; see also "Pis'ma ~~iz~~ daleka" ibid., Vol.31, p.39.
51. I.P. Flerovskii Bol'shevistskii Kronshtadt v 1917 godu op.cit., p.19,89. In the elections to the 2nd All-Russian Congress of Soviets the Bolshevik faction in the Kronstadt Soviet voted for Iarchuk, so sure were they that he would not "waver" from the line.
52. Maksimov had been active in spreading anarchism in Petrograd from 1912. In 1915, though against the war, he called himself up for mobilisation so as to undertake propaganda work in the army. Goneniia na anarkhizm op.cit., p.54.
53. Golos Truda No.1, August 11, 1917, p.1.
54. For Voline's views as to what the slogan "All Power to the Soviets" should have meant, see The Unknown Revolution op.cit., pp.215-217.
55. V. Zalezhskii Anarkhisty v Rossii op.cit., p.32.
56. Golos Truda No.1, Aug. 11, 1917, p.2.
57. Ibid., No.5, Sept. 8, 1917, p.1.
58. Petrogradskii Sovet rabochikh i soldatskikh deputatov, mart-mai 1917 goda (Moscow, 1932), pp.21,206.

59. S.N. Kanev Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia i krakh anarkhizma op.cit., p.100; E.M. Kornoukhov "Deiatel'nost' partii bol'shevikov po razoblacheniiu melkoburzhnaznoi revoliutsionnosti anarkhistov" op.cit., p.281. The anarchist Dodonov was a member of the Khar'kov Soviet Ispolkom, and the only anarchist present at the 1st All-Russian Congress of Soviets in June. Makhno was Chairman of the Gulai-Pole Peasant Soviet.

60. See the Moscow group's declaration in Kommuna No.2, 1917, p.7. Bleikhman, despite being on the Kronstadt Soviet, also thought the institutions insufficiently revolutionary. See his speech in TsGAOR, f.472, op.1, ed.khr.1, 1.60-61.

61. The influence of French syndicalism once again became apparent. Two examples of this were N.K. Lebedev's Rabochie soiuzy op.cit., which attempted to mould the experience of the French syndicates on to Russia in 1917. (See esp. pp.15-20); and N.I. Proferansov Stachka, rabochii soiuz i sotsializm (Moscow, 1917).

62. Golos Truda No.1, Aug.11, 1917, p.2.

63. Speech given on the second day of the Conference of Trade Unions and Factory Committees of Khar'kov, in Iu. Kreizel' Iz istorii profdvizheniia g. Khar'kova v 1917 godu (Khar'kov, 1921).

64. Golos Truda No.2, Aug.18, 1917, p.4. Voline clashed with Lozovskii and Riazanov over the role of the trade unions at the Second Conference of Petrograd Factory Committees. See TsGAOR, f.472, op.1, ed.khr.1, l.120-124.
65. A. Lozovskii Rabochii Kontrol' (Petrograd, 1918), p.19.
66. TsGAOR, f.472, op.1, ed.khr.1, l.23-25,35,38. Naumov's views were echoed by other speakers, such as Tseitlin from the Kersten factory (l.55). Bleikhman, however, made himself unpopular at the conference for his inability to stick to the point of the debate, viz. the tasks facing the factory committees (l.60-61). See also Pervaia rabochaia konferentsiia fabrichno-zavodskikh komitetov (Petrograd, 1917), p.23-24.
67. L.A. Kuzina "Iz istorii bor'by bol'shevikov protiv anarkhistov" op.cit., pp.141-143 cites examples, taken from the Leningrad Party Archive, of Bolshevik raion committees trying to split the Durnovo anarchists, and also the anarchist group at the Staryi Parviainen works, which apparently suffered a mass exodus of around forty of the one hundred members, following Bolshevik infiltration into the factory committee.
68. TsGAOR, f.472, op.1, ed.khr.1, l.83,94; Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia i fabzavkomy (Part 1) (Moscow, 1927), p.208. The voting for Miliutin's resolution was 213 for, 26 against, 23 abstentions.

69. TsGAOR, f.472, op.1, ed.khr.1, l.107-108.
70. Ibid., l.116.
71. Golos Truda, Oct.20, 1917, p.3.
72. The sequestration of private residences to relieve the housing shortage in Petrograd was one area of "expropriation" which the anarchist communists and anarcho-syndicalists agreed upon. While Bleikhman called for "the expropriation of all palaces and residences and their declaration as the property of free people's communes" (Kommuna, Sept. 1917, p.4). Iarchuk was actually responsible for much of the rehousing that took place in Kronstadt both before and after October. G.P. Maksimov The Guillotine at Work op.cit., p.348.
73. The proposal appeared in Kommuna No.2, 1917, p.7.
74. Svobodnaia Kommuna, Oct.2, 1917, p.2.
75. Golos Truda, Oct.20, 1917, p.2.
76. Ibid., Sept.1, 1917, p.3.
77. Ibid., pp.3-4. In fairness, Grachev's anarcho-syndicalism, which looked forward to a future of massively increased production and consolidated industry, was an extreme one which brought him close to Marxism. Either way, his ideas fell on deaf ears as far as Bleikhman was concerned. The same month he continued to call for "the abolition of money and the transition to a natural economy". Kommuna, Sept. 1917, p.4.

78. N. K. Lebedov P. A. Kropotkin (Moscow, 1925), p.72; P. A. Kropotkin i ego uchenie op.cit. p.230. Just prior to October Kerensky also offered Kropotkin a cabinet post, but he refused the invitation to join the Provisional Government. Amongst the Russian anarchists, Kropotkin retained friendly relations only with Rocker, Schapiro, Cherkezov and Goldsmith, (who remained in the West in 1917). Of his detractors, Vetrov, for instance, who met Kropotkin in Petrograd in June, felt that he was living with the values of decades ago. See I. Knizhnik "Vospominaniia o P. A. Kropotkine" op.cit., pp.46-47. He received a different criticism from Makhno, who blamed Kropotkin in part for the dire lack of anarchist propaganda in Russia, considering his previous works to be too academic for the Russian peasant to digest. N. Makhno Russkaia revoliutsiia na Ukraine (ot marta 1917g. po april' 1918 god) Book 1, (Paris, 1929), pp.51-52.
79. G. Woodcock and I. Avakumovic The Anarchist Prince op.cit., pp.388-392,400-402; M.A.Miller Kropotkin op.cit., pp.235-237; TsGAOR, f.1129, op.1, ed.khr.735, l.112,113. Before receiving his standing ovation, Kropotkin concluded his speech in August by asking the assembly to promise one another once and for all that they would no longer be divided into left and right, "After all, we have a common motherland, and for it we must stand and die if necessary".

80. G.P. Maksimov The Guillotine at Work op.cit., p.347.
81. See, for example, the protocols from Bolsheviks Bokii and Stepanov, dated October 16, 1917, in Velikaia Oktiabr'skaia Sotsialisticheskaja Revoliutsiia: Dokumenty i Materialy - Oktiabr'skoe Vooruzhennoe Vosstanie v Petrograde (Moscow, 1957) p.52, where the Putilov works (Narvskii raion), Rozhdestvennyi raion, and Kolpino were singled out as anarchist centres. See also I.P. Flerovskii Bol'shevistskii Kronshtadt v 1917 godu op.cit., p.97; where Narvskii and Rozhdestvennyi raions were also mentioned.
82. S.N. Kanev, "Krakh russkogo anarkhizma" op.cit., p.53, notes that in this period Lenin wrote some ten articles containing a critique of anarchism. Kanev cites examples of anti-anarchist lectures at the Kolpinskii partkom (as early as May 29, 1917), the Nevskii ship building works (where Volodarskii was the speaker), and in the Obukhovskii Sad. His source is the Leningrad Party Archives.
83. Despite protests from Trifonov, the Bolshevik Chairman, Zhuk was elected at the beginning of August onto the five-man committee which formed the roots of the Central Commandant Office of the Red Guard, and then its Central Staff. Zhuk was heavily involved throughout August with the hiding and stealing of weapons, and achieved

83. continued:

notoreity on the 15th for his part in the capture of 3000 rifles, later to be used against the Winter Palace. His influence in the Red Guard after September, however, appears to have been restricted to Shlisselburg.

The other area where the anarchists held sway was the Moskovsko-Narvskii raion of Petrograd, where one E. Berzin was in charge both before and after October. V.I. Startsev Ocherki po istorii petrogradskoi krasnoi gvardii op.cit., pp.139-143,210,215,295; E.M. Kornoukhov "Deiatel'-nost' partii bol'shevikov po razoblacheniiu melko-burzhaznoi revoliutsionnosti anarkhistov." op.cit., p.305; Petrogradskie bol'sheviki v oktiabr'skoi revoliutsii op.cit., p.261.

84. The anarcho-syndicalist N.K. Lebedev went on to edit the journal of the Moscow perfume workers together with his wife, N. Kritskaia. P. Avrich The Russian Anarchists op.cit., p.146, footnote.

85. V.V. Komin Anarkhizm v Rossii op.cit., p.144. For information on the Vladivostok group see Rech', July 5, 1917, p.1.

86. Revoliutsionnoe tvorchestvo. Ezhemesiachnyi zhurnal nauki, iskusstva, sotsial'noi zhizni i kooperatsii No.1-2 (Moscow, Jan-Feb, 1918), p.106. Representatives to the Khar'kov conference came from Kiev, Rostov, Ekaterinoslav, Elizavetgrad, Aleksandrovsk, Odessa, Nikolaev, Samara, Saratov, Bezhetsk, Moscow and Petrograd.

87. N. Makhno Russkaia revoliutsiia na Ukraine
op.cit., pp.18-20,30-31. Links were formed
between the Gulai-Pole and Aleksandrovsk
anarchists in early June.
88. Ibid., pp.42-43.
89. Ibid., pp.51-54. Makhno's memoirs here barely
conceal his feeling of having been let down in
the summer of 1917. Kropotkin, he claimed,
"almost ignored the countryside" (i.e. Gulai-
Pole) for the towns, and promises he received
from a comrade in Ekaterinoslav that Rogdaev,
Grossman-Roshchin and Arshinov were to arrive
in the area on a lecture tour were never upheld.
When in Ekaterinoslav he was taken to one of the
expropriated buildings of the group, the former
English Club, where he was disgusted to find
that the residents "predictably were all sitting
around unconcerned about spreading any propaganda".
90. Ibid., pp.58-62,64,70.
91. Kommuna, Sept., 1917, pp.2-4. Kommuna reported
that in many places criminals, as well as political
prisoners, had been freed from prisons by the people,
who "accept that their crimes were created in an
atmosphere of brutal violence, slavery, want and
hunger." Many criminals, it went on to claim,
had subsequently entered the ranks of the revo-
lutionaries. No.2, pp.4-5.

92. Ibid., No.2, pp.1-4. For the equivalent anarcho-syndicalist position on the war see Golos Truda Aug.11, 1917, p.1.
93. Svobodnaia Kommuna Oct.2, 1917, p.2.
94. Golos Truda Aug.11, 1917, p.1.
95. Ibid., An instance of this feeling was recorded at a joint meeting of the Sestroretsk and Kronstadt sailors and workers in August. The anarchist correspondent at the meeting complained that "the members of the future 'party of power' came across not as comrades, but as future state legislators". He particularly disliked the Bolshevik habit of introducing each speaker by enumerating all his committee titles and posts, and took great exception to one Bolshevik who promised the anarchists a secure place in the future socialist prisons, ibid., Aug.25 1917, p.3.
96. Ibid., Sept.1 1917, p.2.
97. Ibid., Sept.29 1917, p.1,2.
98. Ibid., Oct.6 1917, pp.1-2; Oct.13 1917, pp.2-3; Oct.20 1917, p.1.
99. Ibid., Sept.29 1917, p.4.
100. See for instance, V.I. Lenin "Pis'mo k tovarishcham" Poln.sobr.soch., op.cit., Vol.34, p.413 and Lenin's letter of Oct.1 1917, on the need to take power immediately. Ibid., p.340.

101. The figure of five hundred comes from Bleikhman. See Petrogradskii voenno-revoliutsionnyi komitet Dokumenty i materialy Vol.1 (Moscow 1966), p.272. Of the four on the Voenrevkom, Shatov was actually a representative from the Central Soviet of Factory Committees, while Iarchuk represented the Kronstadt sailors. Bleikhman and Bogatskii did not join until after the actual seizure of power. Ibid., p.349, TsGAOR, f.1236, op.1, ed.khr.58, l.12,13, 14,31.
102. Petrogradskie bol'sheviki v oktiabr'skoi revoliutsii op.cit., p.382.
103. Ibid., p.386.
104. Cited in V.V. Komin Anarkhizm v Rossii op.cit., p.167. A similar announcement was made a month later by the Kronstadt anarchists in their newspaper, Vol'nyi Khronstadt. E.M. Kornoukhov "Deiatel'nost' partii bol'shevikov po razoblacheniiu melkoburzhaznoi revoliutsionnosti anarkhistov", op.cit., p.307.
105. I.P. Flerovskii Bol'shevistskii Kronshtadt v 1917 godu op.cit., p.97 provides a good description of the depression that Bleikhman went through while being conveyed on a boat full of sailors from Kronstadt to Petrograd for the October uprising.

1. B.I. Gorev Anarkhisty v Rossii op.cit., p124.
2. Sibirskii Anarkhist, Jan.26, 1918, cited in S.N. Kanev Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia i krakh anarkhizma op.cit., p.89.
3. Burevestnik Nov.21, 1917, p.1; Nov.25, 1917, p.2.
4. Golos Truda, Oct.20, 1917, p.1.
5. The January 1918 figures referred to, come from Revoliutsionnoe tvorchestvo op.cit., No.1-2, Jan.-Feb. 1918, pp.138-141. The major centres were Petrograd (and Kronstadt), Moscow, Khar'kov, Samara, Kiev, Rostov and Saratov. Other organisations existed in Vologda, Ekaterinburg, Nikolaev, Odessa, Aleksandrovsk (which included Gulai-Pole), Ekaterinoslav, Irkutsk, Vladivostok, Kherson, Poltava, Kazan, Bezhetsk, Smolensk, Krasnoiarsk, Minsk, Tsaritsyn, Nizhnyi-Novgorod and Briansk.

Of the 21 journals and newspapers, 7 were published in Petrograd, 5 in Moscow, 2 in Khar'kov, and the rest in Rostov, Saratov, Kiev, Samara, Krasnoiarsk, Nizhnyi-Novgorod and Vladivostok. Several of the Petrograd and Moscow journals were the work of individualists, who also enjoyed a brief renaissance in Minsk, where a group was active in the publication of anarchist literature until 1919, ibid., pp.149-141.

E.M. Kornoukhov "Deiatel'nost' partii bol'shevikov po razoblachaniu melko'burzhuaanoi revoliutsion-

5. continued:
nosti anarkhistov" op.cit., pp.272-273 offers an alternative list of 28 towns where anarchist groups existed, presumably also in January 1918.

6. Revoliutsionnoe tvorchestvo op.cit., No.1-2, Jan.-Feb.1918, p.141. See also S.N. Kanev Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia i krakh anarkhizma op.cit. Tables 1-2, where an impressive amount of information relating to the size of the anarchist movement in Russia has been compiled. It is assumed (although Kanev does not say so) that the numbers relate to the end of each year.

	<u>Quantity of Anarchist Organisations</u>					
Nos. of:	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922
<u>guberniias:</u>	20	56	16	13	12	9
towns & settlements:	33	150	23	18	15	11
journals & newspapers:	21	55	28	8	10	3

7. Petrogradskii voenno - revoliutsionnyi komitet Dokumenty i materialy Vol.I (Moscow, 1966) p.272.

8. P. Avrich The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution op.cit., p.14.

New Tolstoyan groups had sprung up again in Russia after the February revolution, but they played little or no role in the events of 1917. Colonies existed in Central Russia and the Crimea, as well as in Moscow. They all took a negative view towards both the Provisional Government and the soviets, but did not stand against them. In

8. continued:

1917, however, Tolstoyan societies did take part in the Congresses of Peasant Deputies, giving their views on questions of agrarian, economic and religious significance. Their Moscow-based journal, called variously Edinenie, Golos Tolstogo i Edinenie and Svoboda i Edinenie survived until 1919, under the editorship of A. Chertkov's brother, V.G. Chertkov. The Tolstoyan anarchists appear to have been largely unmolested by the Bolsheviks until after Kronstadt, when the communes were broken up and the members imprisoned. By the end of 1921 there were ninety-two reported cases of Tolstoyans having been shot (mainly for conscientious objection during the Civil War). Gonenia na anarkhizm op.cit., p.7; L. Velikhov Sravnitel'naia tablitsa russkikh politicheskikh partii (Petrograd, 1917).

9. In Moscow, the Tolstoyans' Edinenie (which was later renamed Golos Tolstogo i Edinenie) had a circulation of 15,000. The circulation of the largest individualist journal, Beznachalie (Moscow), is not known. S.N. Kanev Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia i krakh anarkhizma op.cit., p.56.

10. Anarkhiia, Svobodnaia Kommuna and Golos Truda (while still in Petrograd) were all published on the printing presses of bourgeois newspapers confiscated by the Soviet power and handed over to the anarchists. They were, respectively, the Riabushinskii in Moscow, and those of Zhivoe Slovo and Birzhevye Vedomosti in Petrograd. Petrogradskii

10. continued:

voenno - revoliutsionnyi komitet op.cit., pp.155, 169,217,349. Svobodnaia Kommuna was supplemented on November 11 by the appearance of the Petrograd anarchist communists' Burevestnik, a daily with a circulation of 15,000. According to M. Khudaikulov Bol'sheviki b bor'be s anarkhizmom op.cit., p.55, it did much better than Golos Truda (which also went daily for a short period after October), "because of the sensational way it was written".

11. A full list of anarchist publications and publishing outlets in this period appears in Revoliutsionnae tvorchestvo No.1-2, Jan.-Feb. 1918, pp.134-137,141. Easily the most prolific publishers were the Moscow Federation of Anarchist Groups and their individualist comrades. Apart from them, there were almost no original works published by any anarchists after 1917.

12. By the beginning of 1918 some 17 anarchist clubs were in existence all over the city. Ibid., p.139.

13. This is the view of A.L. Fraiman Forpost sotsialisticheskoi revoliutsii (Leningrad, 1969), p.38.

14. Zhelezniakov, a sailor from the autumn of 1915, who, like Iarchuk, was a delegate to the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets, had been wounded in the Durnovo dacha shoot-out in the summer. By October he commanded a great deal of influence amongst the sailors in the barracks of the Second Baltic Naval Depot. There is no doubt that the

14. continued:
ideas expressed in Burevestnik and echoed by Zhelezniakov found favour amongst some sections of the sailors in the barracks. I.E. Amurskii Matros Zhelezniakov op.cit.
15. The Bolsheviks were forced to move against Berzin and his staff in the Moskovko-Zastavskii raion in February 1918, after the Narvskii raion soviet had demanded submission from the "non-Bolshevik" detachment. It was finally liquidated under the threat of military force in the middle of March. V.I. Startsev Ocherki po istorii petrogradskoi krasnoi gvardii op.cit., pp.211, 259-262.
16. The figure is cited in B.I. Gorev Anarkhizm v Rossii op.cit., p.120. L.M. Spirin Klassy i partii v grazhdanskoi voine v Rossii op.cit., p.103 puts the figure, for April 1918, at 1,000.
17. G.P. Maksimov The Guillotine at Work op.cit., p.405.
18. Ibid., p.406.
19. Lev Chernyi (real name Pavel Turchaninov), one of the most colourful figures of the whole anarchist movement, was the son of a colonel. As a medical student he was sent to the provinces during the student disturbances of 1901. In the following year, he was arrested for distributing propaganda amongst railway workers and banished to Iakutsk. By the time he had received an amnesty, in 1905, he had become an anarchist.

19. continued:

For forming, with his wife, a group of what he termed Assotsiatsionnye Anarkhisty in Moscow, he was sent to Turkestan in the spring of 1907, where he took part in attempts that the exiled revolutionaries made to set up communes along Proudhonist lines amongst the local prisoners. He escaped in 1910, and after a spell in the West, returned to underground propaganda work in Moscow during the war. TsGAOR, f.102, op.8, ed.khr.12, tom.1, 1909g., l.428; "Pis'ma P.A. Kropotkina k V.N. Cherkezovu" op.cit., p.18; Goneniia na anarkhizm op.cit., p.26.

20. Though he produced his first work on anarchism in 1906, Borovoi's views did not become established until after the October revolution, via several books obsessed with trying to solve the problem of individualism in modern society. His two major works were Revoliutsionnoe tvorchestvo i parlament (revoliutsionnyi sindikalizm) (Moscow, 1913), which was republished in Moscow in 1917, and Anarkhizm (Moscow, 1918). These show that questions of tactics interested Borovoi less than the actual philosophical essence of the anarchist worldview.

21. A.L. and V.L. Gordin spent 1917 in Moscow and Petrograd respectively, joining up in Moscow at the beginning of 1918. Pan-anarchism, which came in for attack from all sides, including other anarchists, was both fiercely anti-Marxist and anti-intellectual. Its basic view was

21. continued:

that the world was made up of five sets of oppressed people; the individual, who found "the rule of the law, the scourge of the majority" intolerable, and who could only free his mind once he had burnt all the books he possessed; the worker, tied down by parties, central committees, executive committees, leaders and representatives, together with all of their literature, resolutions and reputations, all of which should be jettisoned; the woman, living in a world of slavery and bondage, a world which supposedly had a cult of women, but which in fact treated them like slaves, both morally and domestically; "the oppressed nation" or national minority, oppressed by colonialism; and the youth, running to escape from school and eternal studying which was making him old while he was still young. All five were respectively seeking freedom, equality, love, fraternity and creativity, which, the Gordin brothers were sure, could be found only in anarchism, communism, "gyneantropism" (the emancipation of women), "cosmism" (the removal of all national persecution), and "amorphism" (the elimination of state education).

See Br. Gordiny Doloi anarkhiu Book I (Petrograd, 1917); Manifest pan-anarkhistov (Moscow, 1918); and Anarkhiia v mechte (Moscow, 1919).

22. S.N. Kanev Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia i krakh anarkhizma op.cit., p.219.
23. A. Gorelik Anarkhisty v rossiiskoi revoliutsii (Argentina, 1922) pp.37-38.
24. TsGAOR, f.472, op.1, ed.khr.1, l.236. Rotenberg was one of the Khar'kov delegates to the Conference, which represented the heyday of anarchist strength in the factory committees. Representation might have been greater if some anarchist communists had not refused to have delegates in factory committees after October, and if others had not objected to the concept of partiinnost' in any form and so refused to declare themselves as anarchists. This in turn led to frequent appeals in the anarchist press for comrades sympathetic to anarchism to admit to their belonging to anarchist federations or groups.

Be that as it may, it was from this Conference that Bleikhman made his estimation of 18,000 anarchists. Anarchist candidates, according to Menshevik sources, had polled 18,000 votes, or 4.6% of the 384,600 workers in Petrograd eligible to vote. Novaia Zhizn', Jan.6, 1918, p.1;
A.G. Rashin Formirovanie rabocheho klassa v Rossii (Moscow, 1958), p.83.
25. Ibid., l.238-239; Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia i fabzavkomy op.cit., pp.165-166.
26. Novyi Put', Dec.1, 1917, No.3-4, pp.16-22.

27. Novyi Put' Dec.1, 1917, No.3-4, pp.25-26. There were in fact only two votes against the Bolshevik resolution, but twenty abstentions.
28. Novaia Zhizn' Nov.18, 1917, p.2.
29. GAORLO, f.6276, op.1, ed.khr.24, l.30.
30. See, for example, Izvestia VTsIK Jan.24, 1980, p.2, S.N. Kanev "Bor'ba bol'shevistskoi pechaty protiv anarkhizma (noiabr' 1917-1919g.)" in O sovetskoi zarubezhnoi pechaty Vyp.III (Leningrad, 1964) pp.127-128, lists a number of sources from Bolshevik newspapers and journals.
31. Vol'nyi Trud 1918, No.1, p.10.
32. TsGAOR, f.472, op.1, ed.khr.7, l.245 ff.
33. Ibid., ed.khr.8, l.67-69. Of the six anarchist delegates, Shatov (from the Central Soviet) and Zhuk (from VTsIK) were elected to the Congress presidium.
34. Ibid., ed.khr.7, l.221-227.
35. Ibid., l.241-244.
36. Ibid., l.245.
37. The sources for these areas are cited in S.N. Kanev Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia i krakh anarkhizma op.cit., pp.204,224-225.
38. According to figures for 1918, out of 3338 establishments taken away from the bourgeoisie between November 1917 and autumn 1918, 576 (17.3%)

38. continued:

were considered to have been socialised. These were primarily small establishments. V.Z.

Drobizhev Glavnyi shtab sotsialisticheskoi promyshlennosti (Ocherki istorii VSNKh, 1917-1932gg.) (Moscow, 1966), pp.93,94.

Specific examples of anarchist incitement to socialise factories are quoted in several sources. An example of Bolshevik "confusion" over nationalisation at the local level occurred in meetings of the Briansk works in Ekaterinoslav. Coal miners appear to have been particularly susceptible.

The Cheremkhovo miners clashed with Irkutsk metal workers over declaring the mines the property of the workers' collectives. S.N. Kanev "Bor'ba V.I. Lenina protiv anarkhizma v pervye gody sovetskoi vlasti" in Uchenye zapiski vysshei partiinoi shkoly pri TsK KPSS: Istoriia KPSS. Vyp. IX (Moscow, 1970), pp.84-85; S.N. Kanev "Bor'ba bol'shevistskoi pechati protiv anarkhizma" op.cit., pp.126-127.

39. S.N. Kanev "Bor'ba V.I. Lenina protiv anarkhizma" op.cit., p.86; S.N. Kanev "Bor'ba bol'shevistskoi pechati protiv anarkhizma" op.cit., pp.130-131.

40. Anarkhiia, March 23, 1918, p.1. For the same reasons the anarchists were also against nationalisation of the land. Barmash, for instance, was convinced that the peasantry was capable of working out its own economy on its own. "But

40. continued:
unfortunately once again over these people sit persons who think that without their participation the peasants will not manage by themselves", ibid., May 25, 1918, p.2. Unlike the Bolsheviks, the anarchists refused to see any class segmentation within the peasantry.
41. V.I. Lenin "O 'levom' rebiachestve i o melko-burzhuaznosti". Poln.sobr.soch., op.cit., Vol.36, p.300. A few anarchists, such as the syndicalists Lebedev and Proferansov, did try to argue for a planned organisation of production even on a world-scale, but this seemed to negate the anarchist insistence on a decentralised "autonomous" economy. See N. Proferansov Stachka, rabochii soiuz i sindikalizm op.cit., pp.26-27.
42. Ge's speech, made at a session of VTsIK, brought a rebuff from Lenin, who considered such aggressive talk to be "complete absurdity and lack of understanding of what end the rifle serves". Protokoly zasedanii Vserossiiskogo Tsentral'nogo Ispolnitel'nogo Komiteta 4-go sozyva. Stenograficheskii otchet. (Moscow, 1920), p.231; V.I. Lenin "Zasedanie VTsIK 29 apreliia 1918g.". Poln.sobr.soch., op.cit., Vol.36, p.272.
43. TsGAOR, f.472, op.1, ed.khr.8, l.81; Vyborgskaia storona (Leningrad, 1957), p.186,187. In general, anarchists were fervent detractors of Sovnarkhoz, since it represented a centralised organisation. The only notable exception was

43. continued:

Zhuk who was a member of the chemical section of the Sovnarkhov Severnogo Raiona. Otherwise, anarchist representatives in regional Sovnarkhozs were insignificant. TsGAOR, f.472, op.1, ed. khr.62, l.11.

44. TsGAOR, f.472, op.1, ed.khr.7, l.131-135.

45. Ibid., l.136-146.

46. Ibid., l.149-154.

47. Ibid., l.168-169.

48. G.P. Maksimov The Guillotine at Work op.cit., pp.366-367,406. Anarchist representation at trade union conferences was, for the usual reasons, low. At the national level, their best showing was the 6 delegates at the First All-Russian Congress in January, 1918 (2.3% of all delegates). By the time of the Second Congress, a year later, the number had dropped to only 4 (0.6%).

They fared slightly better at local and individual trade union conferences (see footnotes 49-52 below), but representation was rarely above the 2% level. S.N. Kanev Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia i krakh anarkhizma op.cit., Tables 9-14, gives the most detailed data on the level of anarchist representation in the trade union movement.

49. As late as 1920, when the Second Congress of Food Industry Workers met, the anarchists still had some 12% of the delegates. S.N. Kanev Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia i krakh anarkhizma op.cit., p.175.
50. Ibid., pp.175-177. Kanev argues that anarchist influence in the bakers' union was strengthened by the fact that many Bolsheviki either found themselves involved in fighting in the civil war or had moved from the trade unions to the state apparatus.
51. Ibid., p.180.
52. At this Congress the merging of the Left SRs, bezpartiinye and anarchists left the Bolsheviki with a minority of 120 of the 266 delegates. The anarchist share was, by their standards, very high - 18 delegates (6.7%). Ibid., pp.185-188, Table 14.
53. Burevestnik, Nov.11, 1917, p.1.
54. Ibid., Dec.24, 1917, p.2.
55. Anarkhiia March 21, 1918, p.2. Some of the anarchist's ideas (his name was S. Drumiantsev) reiterated the views of Chernyi's earlier "associational anarchism", which still held some sway amongst Moscow anarchists after October.
56. Ibid., June 6, 1918, p.1. Not all anarchist communists boycotted the soviets after October. Two notable exceptions were Bleikhman and Karelin.

57. Ibid., Nov.6, 1917, p.1. The Moscow anarchists tried to establish their Dom Anarkhii along such communal lines in the winter of 1917-1918. They had more success, it seems, with the establishment of communes in the countryside, for which Karelin was primarily responsible. S.N. Kanev "Vliianie politiki bol'shevikov i sovetskogo gosudarstva na rassloenie sredi anarkhistov" in Bankrotstvo melkoburzhuaaznykh partii Rossii 1917-1922gg. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov. (Moscow, 1977) PartII, pp.47-48.
58. Iu. Kreizel' Iz istorii profdrizheniia g. Khar'kova v 1917 godu (Khar'kov, 1921), p.59.
59. Anarkhiia March 3, 1918, p.1. One instance of the anarchists trying to put theory into practice in this respect is known to have occurred in Rostov at the beginning of May 1918. As the German army approached, the local anarchists raided the town's banks and burnt, on the town square, bonds and various valuable pieces of paper issued by the banks, thereby believing that they were destroying capital. M. Chudnov Pod chernym znamenem (Moscow, 1930), p.202.
60. Golos Truda Feb.9, 1918, p.1. A small number of Moscow anarcho-syndicalists, led by N.K. Lebedev, continued to put a pure syndicalist view of the future society after October, arguing for the transfer of the French model onto Russian conditions. See N.K. Lebedev Rabochie soiuzy op.cit., esp. pp.15-20.

61. V.I. Lenin "Kak organizovat' sorevnovanie?"
Poln.sobr.soch. op.cit., Vol. 35, p.202.
62. V.I. Lenin "Zasedanie petrogradskogo **Soveta**"
ibid., Vol.38, p.2.
63. I.P. Flerovskii Bol'shevistskii Kronshtadt
v 1917 godu op.cit., p.107.
64. TsGAOR, f.1235, op.2, ed.khr.7, l.38-v.
Ge's speech came as a reply to Stalin who put the Bolshevik position of the centralisation of power at the plenary session of the Congress.
65. Golos Truda, Dec.22, 1917, pp.1-2.
66. S.N. Kanev "Krakh russkogo anarkhizma"
op.cit., p.65, notes an example from the diaries of D.A. Furmanov, who was chairman of the Ivanovo-Vosnesensk soviet gubispolkom. Between March and July 1918, he and a group of SR Maximalists took up a decentralist position towards the soviets after having been influenced by Iarchuk and Maksimov, who had arrived in Ivanovo-Vosnesensk from Petrograd, and whose speeches at workers' meetings invariably ended with the slogans "Down with the Sovnarkom!" and "Long Live the Federation of Free Soviets."

66. continued:

Other instances occurred in 1918 in Altaiskii gubernaiia in Siberia, the Cheremkhovo mine soviet, and in uezd soviets in the Pskov, Riazan, Tula and Nizhnyi-Novgorod regions. Apparently, the slogan "All power to the soviets" was interpreted by some to mean that they could make their own laws. S.N. Kanev Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia i krakh anarkhizma op.cit., pp. 128-129.

Outside of those regions, and particularly in the Ukraine, there is no doubt that anarchist calls for decentralisation could easily be transformed into a desire for nationalistic autonomy.

67. Overleaf:

67. Anarchist representation at the All-Russian Congresses was as follows:-

<u>Congress</u>	<u>Total No. of Delegates</u>	<u>Anarchist Delegates</u>	<u>Percentage of Total</u>
2nd All-Russian Congress 25-26 Oct., 1917:	670	3	0.4
Extraordinary Congress of Peasant Deputies, 11-25 Nov., 1917:	330	2	0.6
3rd All-Russian Congress of Workers & Soldiers' Deputies, 10-18 Jan.1918:	708	5	0.7
3rd All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies, 13-18 Jan.1918:	422	3	0.7
4th Extraordinary All- Russian Congress, 14-16 March, 1918:	1,252	17	1.3
5th All-Russian Congress, 4-10 July, 1918:	1,425	14	0.9
6th All-Russian Congress, 6-9 Nov.,1918:	1,276	5	0.3
7th All-Russian Congress, 5-9 Dec., 1919:	1,366	2	0.1
8th All-Russian Congress, 22-29 Dec., 1920:	2,490	2	0.08
9th All-Russian Congress, 23-28 Dec., 1921:	1,991	1	0.05
10th All Russian Congress, 23-27 Dec., 1922:	2,092	1	0.04

Source: S.N. Kanev Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia i
krakh anarkhizma op.cit., Table 3;
M. Khudaikulov Bol'sheviki v bor'be s
anarkhizmom op.cit., p.22.

Until the Fourth Congress, the dominant anarchist role was played by Ge. He was then superseded by Karelin. Each spoke at the Fourth and Fifth Congress respectively.

68. The Petrograd anarcho-syndicalists had actually pressed for four seats on the Petrograd soviet, thus showing their willingness to work within it, but only one was granted. S.N. Kanev "Krakh russkogo anarkhizma" op.cit., p.63-64.
69. S.N. Kanev Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia i krakh anarkhizma op.cit., pp.105-106. According to M. Khudaikulov Bol'sheviki v bor'be s anarkhizmom op.cit., p.22, a total of 7 anarchists (out of 285 delegates) were elected to the Kronstadt Soviet after October.
70. Figures for anarchist representation at guberniia and uezd congresses of Soviets are given in S.N. Kanev Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia i krakh anarkhizma op.cit., Tables 3-4. His figures come from M. Vladimirskii Sovety, ispolkomy i s'ezdy sovetov Vyp II (Moscow, 1921) pp.6,10. The percentage number of anarchist delegates only once exceeded 1% (strangely, in the period Jan.-June, 1919, at guberniia congresses).

Significant anarchist representation in local soviets is known to have existed in Vologda, in various uezdy in Kursk, Penza, Tver and Iaroslavl' guberniias, in Irkutsk (particularly in the Cheremkhovo soviet, where the anarchist M.Byskikh was chairman for a time), and in Ekaterinoslav guberniia, where Makhno was chairman of the Gulai-Pole soviet and one A.M. Anikst (who subsequently

70. continued:
became a Bolshevik) headed the Pavlovsk uezd
soviet. S.N. Kanev "Krakh russkogo anarkhizma"
op.cit., pp.63-64.
71. The exception was Kropotkin, who in August fully
acknowledged the right of the Constituent Assembly
to take "the sovereign decision" on the future of
Russia. G. Woodcock and I. Avakumovic The Anar-
chist Prince op.cit., p.400.
72. Svobodnaia Kommuna Oct.2, 1917, p.2. On this
same theme see also Golos Truda Oct.20,1917, p.3;
Dec.22,1917, p.2; Manifest' Anarkhistov-
Kommunistov (Krasnoiarsk, 1917), pp.4-5.
73. See N.K. Lebedev Rabochie soiuzy op.cit., pp.3-4.
74. Golos Truda, Oct.13, 1917, p.3.
75. Ironically, it was the anarchist Zhelezniakov
who was responsible for dispersing the Constituent
Assembly in January 1918, on orders from the
Bolsheviks.
76. Golos Truda Dec.2, 1917, p.3.
77. Burevestnik, Nov.28,1917, p.1; Nov.30,1917, p.1.
78. Kommuna, Sept. 1917, p.4. The exceptions were,
once again, Kropotkin and the Tolstoyan anarchists,
who as pacifists refused to take up arms against
anyone.
79. Stenograficheskii otchet IV Vserossiiskogo Chrezvy-
chainogo S'ezda Sovetov (Moscow, 1920), pp.36-37.

80. Burevestnik March 9, 1918, p.1; March 14, 1918, p.1.
81. Ibid., March 14, 1918, p.1.
82. Once the civil war got underway, some anarchists (most notably, of course, Makhno) took a somewhat different line. An army organised along decentralist, anarchist lines, totally divorced from any state power, purely in the interests of the defence of the country, was admissable. This was translated in turn into calls for a universal army of the whole people, which in reality meant partisan detachments formed out of whole towns and villages, something which Makhno proved himself particularly skilled at realising. These detachments were to be, in the eyes of the anarchists, lacking in any subordination of man to man, any authority structure. See, for instance, Atabekian's article in Anarkhiia June 12, 1918, p3.
83. Several of the groups, which were all very loosely formed and lacking in any disciplined order, revealed their independence by having their own names, such as Uragan, Avangard and Bortsy. D.L. Golinkov Krushenie antisovetskogo podpolia v SSSR op.cit., p.144. A correspondent of a Moscow newspaper described the make up of one such detachment, which consisted of young students from Samara, who had arrived in Moscow on the bogus excuse of volunteering for the front. As many as fifty detachments were believed to exist in Moscow by the beginning of April 1918.

83. continued:

Protokoly zasedanii VTsIK 4-go sozyva op.cit., p.153. S.N. Kanev "Krakh russkogo anarkhizme" op.cit., p.68.

84. Anarkhiia March 16, 1918, p.1. By April the anarchists were admitting that the name of the Federation had become connected with "infamy, baseness, meanness, murder and robbery", but still they were not prepared to do anything to counteract it. Ibid., April 3, 1918, p.1.

85. The SR newspaper, Znamia Truda, reported an incident on April 3, 1918, when a group of around fifty armed anarchists appeared at a private residence and declared it expropriated. On the arrival of two army detachments, the group scattered, leaving behind them a case full of valuable pieces of silver which had been "requisitioned" by the anarchists. The incident was duly reported to the Cheka.

Apart from valuables, alcohol was a favourite item on the list of goods to be expropriated. In one single raid, the armed detachment Smerch seized over 8,000 flagons of wine from a wine merchant. Not surprisingly, Dom Anarkhii became renowned as a centre of drunken orgies. S.N. Kanev "Krakh russkogo anarkhizma" op.cit., p.68.

86. While the old watches, ashtrays, etc. were being dished out, so that no one in the queue should get two items, it was common for the expropriators to write in people's passports as they received an item, "Article handed over". The anarchists used both these occasions and the cheap dinners to pass their literature on to the recipients of the stolen property. L.M. Spirin Klassy i partii v grazhdanskoi voine v Rossii op.cit., p.104.
87. D.L. Golinkov Krushenie antisovetskogo podpolia v SSSR op.cit., pp.145-146. The situation was all the worse because the anarchist leader behind the raid was F.G. Gorbov, who at that time was a representative from the All-Russian Federation of Anarchist Communists (an offshoot of the Moscow Federation) sitting on the VTsIK. Further, the group had presented the trading company with a mandate with the forged signature of one of the members of the presidium of the soldiers' section of the Moscow Soviet. The anarchists told the company that they wanted to destroy the opium, considering it to be a harmful product for society. In fact they intended selling it to a speculator for 100,000 roubles. Gorbov was duly arrested by the Cheka
88. V. Zalezhskii Anarkhisty v Rossii op.cit., pp.33-34. The most noted example of this was the robbery of the Moscow drapery warehouse of the Zemskii Soiuz, which had been nationalised.

89. Anarkhiia March 27, 1918, p.2. This was not a view taken by anarcho-syndicalists such as Ge, who was not against the establishment of workers' discipline, provided it was not linked with the re-establishment of the leadership of the capitalists in the shape of bourgeois specialists. Protokoly VTsIK 4-go sozyva op.cit., p.231.
90. Rasskazyvaiut uchastniki velikogo oktiabria (Moscow, 1957), p.31.
91. D.L. Golinkov Krushenie antisovetskogo podpol'ia v SSSR op.cit., p.145.
92. A.L. Fraiman Forpost sotsialisticheskoi revoliutsii p.192. P.D. Mal'kov, commandant of the Smol'ny in 1917, wrote of the "cult of weaponry" which was evident amongst many of the Petrograd anarchists. Often they conformed to the stereotype image of the anarchist, with long hair, a pointed beard, and a black cape thrown casually over the shoulders. P.D. Mal'kov Zapiski Komendanta Kremliia (Moscow, 1962) p.90.
93. The elder Zhelezniakov, who called himself a sailor from the Respublika but who was in fact a civilian sailor, is vividly described in V.D. Bonch-Bruevich Vospominaniia o Lenine (Moscow, 1965), pp.165-166. Unlike his younger brother, he refused to accept Soviet power, and called for the sailors under his influence to take power into their own hands. This led to

93. continued:
several brushes with authority, in the shape of Bonch-Bruevich. Ibid., pp.155-156,180. For the Kronstadt sailors from the Ukraine, who were housed in a building along Nevskii Prospekt, see P.D. Mal'kov Zapiski Komendanta Kremliia op.cit., pp.93,98-99.
94. S.N. Kanev Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia i krakh anarkhizma op.cit., pp.100-101.
95. For a justification of their action, carried out on Mayday 1918, from the Briansk anarchists, published in its organ, Vestnik anarkhii, see Ia. Iakovlev Russkii anarkhizm v velikoi russkoi revoliutsii (Moscow, 1921), p.10. Arguing that as anarchists they were always striving to destroy prisons, the Briansk newspaper asked "who made them thieves, hooligans and murderers, if not capitalist society, if not the state with its police, militia, gendarmerie, commissars and army - a socialist army?"
96. Police found at the Samara anarchists' headquarters 40,000 roubles in gold Izvestiia May 17, 1918, p.2. An account of the Astrakhan robbery can be found in M. Khudaikulov Bol'sheviki v bor'be s anarkhizmom op.cit., p.45. For the Voronezh theft, where anarchists paraded through the town in armoured cars, see G.P. Maksimov The Guillotine at Work op.cit., pp.382-383.

97. The Odessa Federation of Anarchists, formed at the end of February 1918, issued a total condemnation of the expropriations being carried out in its name. Revoliutsionnoe tvorchestvo op.cit., No.1-2, Jan.-Feb., 1918, pp.108-109. A similar declaration was made by the Elizavetgrad anarchists, after they had been accused of disorganization in the face of the oncoming enemy. Yet three weeks later reports reached Moscow of an anarchist detachment under the name of Marus'ka having taken over the whole of Elizavetgrad before the Red Army chased them out of town. Izvestiia May 3, 1918, p.2; May 23, p.2. The terror in the Rostov district was particularly widespread. The situation was only rectified with the arrival of Ordzhonikidze in Rostov and Novochevkassk. Ordzhonikidze's wife recorded Sergo's "enfuriation" at the sight of an anarchist demonstration in early April in Rostov in Z.G. Ordzhonikidze Put' bol'shevika (Moscow, 1967), p.109,210,214. For descriptions of the Rostov and Melitopol' anarchists, see Izvestiia May 24, 1918, p.2; June 2, 1918, p.2. Feodosiia and Gorodets are mentioned in M. Khudaikulov Bol'sheviki v bor'be s anarkhizmom op.cit., p.25.
98. TsGAOR, f.472, op.1, ed.khr.7, l.214.

99. Burevestnik April 19, 1918, p.2. "Behind us marches a whole army of crime. We know this well. But why are we marching together? ... We have a single aim, the destruction of contemporary society ... With complete contempt for contemporary society, we stretch out our hand to these criminals ... We applaud any destruction, any blow given to our enemy. Strike it down, put an end to it".

For a justification of anarchist, as opposed to Bolshevik, terror, see Molot B'iushchii Sotsial'naia problema s točki zreniia nauchnogo anarkhizma (Nizhnyi-Novgorod, 1918), pp.15-16.
100. See, for instance, E. Gorskii Za chto boriutsia anarkhisty? (Petrograd, 1918); and the declaration against expropriations, signed by Grossman-Roshchin and Gogeliia, in Ekaterinoslav's Golos Anarkhista, which appears in P. Avrich The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution op.cit., pp.112-113. The arguments were essentially no different from those put forward by the anarcho-syndicalists after 1905.
101. Revoliutsionnoe tvorchestvo op.cit., No.1-2, Jan.-Feb., 1918, p.106; Burevestnik Jan.17, 1918, p.4.
102. Included in the waverers were Iarchuk and Aleksandr Ge, who, while they seriously mistrusted the Bolsheviks' professed intentions, nevertheless took a full part both in the soviets and in the defence of the revolution. As early

102. continued:
as December 1917 Ge called for a united "revolutionary front" of Bolsheviks and anarchists, and by March the Petrograd anarchist G. Bogatskii admitted that the counter-revolution was too serious to stand back and ignore. Burevestnik Dec.19, 1917, p.2; March 2, 1918, p.2.
103. According to S.N. Kanev "Krakh russkogo anarkhizma" op.cit., p.60, some 16 anarchists lost their lives in these opening battles of the civil war.
104. The evidence comes from a white émigré, A. Vetlugin, who lived in the Dom Anarkhii, and who claimed that General Alekseev in the south made enquiries as to the possibility of using the Federation as a springboard for launching an offensive against the Bolsheviks. A. Vetlugin Avantiuristy grazhdanskoi voiny (Paris, 1921), pp.74-75. The Bolsheviks also believed that the Federation sheltered members of the Savinkov terrorist organisation. See O.F. Solov'ev Velikii oktiabr' i ego protivniki (Moscow, 1968) p.189.
105. Pravda, Nov.21, 1917, p.1. For a similar speech by Lenin, made four days later see "Rech' na parvom vserossiiskom s'ezde voennogo flota 22 noiabria 1917g." Poln.sobr.soch. op.cit., Vol.35, p.113. According to S.N. Kanev "Bor'ba bol'-

105. continued:
shevistskoi pechati protiv anarkhizma" op.cit.,
p.117, Pravda carried twenty articles about the
anarchists in April 1918 alone.
106. Anarkhiia April 6, 1918, p.1. Anarchists joined
Mensheviks in organising a protest meeting against
the closing down of the latter's Vpered newspaper.
M. Khudaikulov Bol'sheviki v bor'be s anarkhizmom
op.cit., p.38.
107. TsGAOR, f.472, op.1, ed.khr.8, l.37. Bleikhman
went on to openly condemn Lenin for his decision
to nationalise industry, and he received applause
from the floor several times for his accusation
of opportunism against the Bolshevik leadership.
But upon likening them to a chameleon which con-
stantly changes its colour under the slightest
threat he was told by the presidium to finish
his speech, ibid., l.67.
108. Ibid., ed.khr.7, l.136.
109. Ibid., l.166.
110. Pravda, Feb.3, 1918, p.2. The report on the
anarchists was given by Zalutskii, who declared
to the Soviet, "We must tell those gentlemen:
Hands off the revolution, you have no place among
us".
111. S.N. Kanev Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia i krakh
anarkhizma op.cit., pp.195-196. According to
Kanev, there is no record in the documents of
the Cheka of any active campaign against anarchist
elements in Petrograd.

112. Izvestiia VTsIK, April 3, 1918, p.1. According to Golos Anarkhista for March 5, 1918, searches and arrests of anarchists in expropriated houses and hotels, ostensibly to catch robbers, had already been carried out by the Ekaterinoslav revkom. See G.P. Maksimov The Guillotine at Work op.cit., p.381.
113. G.P. Maksimov The Guillotine at Work op.cit., pp.386-387. Maksimov believed that the Bolsheviks also suspected the anarchists of preparing for an anti-Soviet armed rebellion in the city. Trotsky is supposed to have given a series of lectures at the Kremlin garrison two weeks prior to the raid, claiming that the Black Guards were merely common criminals, ibid., pp.355-356.
114. These figures come from P.D. Mal'kov, who took an active part in the working out of the raids and in their actual operation. P.D. Mal'kov Zapiski Komendanta Kremliia op.cit., p.197. Other accounts put the figure of those arrested at 400. See, for instance L.M. Spriin Klassy i partii v grazhdanskoi voine v Rossii op.cit., p.105; P. Avrich The Russian Anarchists op.cit., p.184 puts the figure at more than 500.
- G.P. Maksimov The Guillotine at Work op.cit., p.387, puts the number of those killed and wounded in the raids at only five. According to him, the Red Army detachments used in the raids were mostly Letts, armed with machine-guns and cannons, ibid., p.356. Maksimov's book also con-

114. continued:
tains a number of valuable documents on the April arrests, ibid., pp.383-395.
115. G.P. Maksimov The Guillotine at Work op.cit., p.388.
116. Protokoly zasedanii VTsIK 4-go sozyva op.cit., p.155.
117. G.P. Maksimov The Guillotine at Work op.cit., p.393.
118. Pravda April 13, 1918, p.1. See also Izvestiia VTsIK for the same day, where a significant part of its third page was given over to the previous day's arrests, with official documents and articles claiming to show how the "enemies of socialism" had made use of anarchist teachings.
119. L. Trotsky A Paradise in This World. An address delivered to a working-class audience on April 14, 1918 (London, n.d.), p.20, cited in Frederick I. Kaplan Bolshevik Ideology and the Ethics of Soviet Labour (New York, 1968), pp.161-162.
120. Pravda April 17, 1918, p.2. Trotsky's and Sverdlov's line was later repeated by Lenin in an interview in July 1918. Poln.sobr.soch., op.cit., Vol.36, p.483.
121. Protokoly zasedanii VTsIK 4-go sozyva op.cit., pp.153-155,160. Ge, in reply, defended the criminal element, arguing that the robber who acted openly "is considerably better than the merchant who he robs, for the merchant steals on the basis of a legal foundation and risks nothing, while the rogue risks his freedom and

121. continued:
life". See also Pravda April 21, 1918, p.2.
G.P. Maksimov The Guillotine at Work op.cit.,
p.390.
122. Burevestnik April 13, 1918, p.1.
123. G.P. Maksimov The Guillotine at Work op.cit.,
pp.392,396-399, contains the documents relating to the arrests of the Petrograd anarchists. The official reason given for the raids was the persistent refusal of anarchist groups to hand in their weapons or to obtain permits for them.
124. Ibid., pp.399-402.
125. Ibid., p.402; Izvestiia, May 10, 1918, p.2.
126. G.P. Maksimov The Guillotine at Work op.cit.,
p.397.
127. L. Schapiro The Origin of the Communist Autocracy (London, 1977), p.184.

1. Cited in Gonenia na anarkhizm op.cit., p.22.
2. Three of the resolutions adopted at this conference appear in P. Avrich The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution op.cit., pp.117-120.
3. G.P. Maksimov The Guillotine at Work op.cit., p.357-359. Maksimov claimed that a Bolshevik official told him that Vol'nyi Golos Truda would be suspended "until socialism triumphs in Russia".
4. Severnyi oblastnoi s'ezd anarkhistov. Rezoliutsii (Moscow, 1918).
5. Protokoly pervogo vserussiiskogo s'ezda anarkhistov-kommunistov, 25-28 dekabria 1918g. (Moscow, 1919), pp.7,24.
6. The anarchist communists produced Trud i Volia (Moscow), which lasted for six numbers until May 1919; Vol'naia Zhizn' (5 numbers); and Vol'nyi Trud (Petrograd), whose last number appeared in December 1919.

The anarcho-syndicalist Golos Truda was revived for one issue in December 1919, with a distinctly "Soviet" orientation.

7. Justification for Shatov's position can be found in Emma Goldman Living My Life Vol.II (New York, 1931), pp.729-731. In 1919 when Iudenich was threatening Petrograd Shatov was

7. continued:

a member of both the revvoensovet of the 7th army and of the committee for the defence of the city. In July 1920 he headed a delegation of the Far Eastern Republic in negotiations with the Japanese over the cessation of military action on the Amur-Baikal front. S.N. Kanev Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia i krakh anarkhizma op.cit., p.106.

Of the others, Schapiro and Sandomirskii worked for the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs (the latter, by 1920, no longer considering himself to be an anarchist); Grossman-Roshchin, Karelin and the Gordin brothers all made vain attempts to persuade their comrades to tow the Soviet line. A. Berkman The Bolshevik Myth (New York 1925), pp.67-68; P. Avrich The Russian Anarchists op.cit., pp.200-202; S.N. Kanev Oktiabr'skaia revoliutsiia i krakh anarkhizma op.cit., pp.115-157.

8. Zheleznaikov perished at the hands of Denikin's men near Ekaterinoslav in July 1919. Others with notable careers in the civil war were Zhuk and Ge (killed in the Caucasus while working for the Cheka). Goneniia na anarkhizm p.53; V.V.Komin Anarkhizm v Rossii op.cit., p.147; S.N. Kanev "Bor'ba V.I. Lenina protiv anarkhizma" op.cit., pp.99-100; L.M. Spirin Klassy i partii v grazhdanskoi voine v Rossii op.cit., p.244.

9. S.N. Kanev "Krakh russkogo anarkhizma" op. cit., pp.71-72. Another who joined the Bolshevik party was Zabrezhnev, who became secretary of Izvestiia in Moscow. P.A. Kropotkin i ego uchenie op.cit., p.337.
10. S.N. Kanev "Krakh russkogo anarkhizma" op.cit., p.72. Of these, 432 were classified as belonging to the Russian Federation, and the rest to the Ukraine, Azerbaidzhan, Armenia, Georgia, Kirghizia and Turkestan.
11. See especially B.S. Otkrytoe pis'mo I. Grossmanu-Roshchinu (otvet Sovetskim "anarkhistam") (Petrograd, 1920), where Grossman-Roshchin and Schapiro came in for particularly harsh attack.
12. One such group in Chita carried out a whole series of daring gold robberies before being routed by Bolshevik forces. S.N. Kanev "Vliianie politiki bol'shevikov i sovetskogo gosudarstva" op.cit., p.48.
13. It became clear in the Cheka investigations into the mutiny that the anarchists had had a hand in it. In Dzerzhinskii's report to the Sovnarkom, he said that "the majority of the mutineers were demoralised Black Sea sailors and anarchists who had been disarmed". V. V. Komin Anarkhizm v Rossii op.cit., p.213.

14. The Underground Anarchists had links with Makhno, who supplied Kovalevich with comrades from Khar'kov in May 1919. Two illegal leaflets were published by the group in Moscow in the summer, and successful raids on state banks enabled it to set up a printing-press and bomb laboratory, L. Bychkov Vzryv v Leont'evskom pereulke (Moscow, 1934), pp.27-29.
15. Ibid., pp.13-18. The mastermind behind the act was the Left SR Cherepanov, who, though he took no part in the actual bombing, confessed to organising it upon arrest in 1920, ibid., p.30.
16. Kovalevich and Sobolev were shot by police in a shoot-out at a dacha in the outskirts of Moscow, ibid., p.34. Amongst those arrested and kept as hostages after the explosion were the pro-Soviet Grossman-Roshchin and the Gordin brothers. They were soon released thanks to the intervention of Kamenev. G.P. Maksimov The Guillotine at Work op.cit., p.106.

Maksimov was one who condemned the bombing as "a useless act", considering that the culprits "bore themselves in a rather unheroic manner", ibid., p.359.
17. V.V. Komin Anarkhizm v Rossii op.cit., pp.210-211.
18. M. Palij The Anarchism of Nestor Makhno op.cit.

19. Makhno went to Moscow in June 1918 where he visited Arshinov (his old cell-mate), Borovoi, Chernyi, Grossman-Roshchin, Schapiro and Kropotkin. He came away thoroughly disillusioned with the passive attitude of the Moscow anarchists, reacting particularly strongly to Kropotkin's refusal to give advice on how to propagate anarchism in the Ukraine. He also had a meeting with Lenin, but despite the Bolshevik leader's admiration for Makhno's "realistic attitude", no alliance was forged between the two. N. Makhno Pod udarami kontr-revoliutsii Book 2 (Paris, 1936), pp.107,127-128, 131-132; P. Arshinov History of the Makhnovist Movement op. cit., p.243; M. Paliij The Anarchism of Nestor Makhno op.cit., pp.91-95.
20. S.N. Semanov "Makhnovshchina i ee krakh" Voprosy istorii No.9, Sept. 1966, pp.40-41; D.L. Golinkov Krushenie antisovetskogo podpolia v SSSR op.cit., pp.377-378.
21. M. Kubanin Makhnovshchina (Leningrad, 1927), pp.52-53; V.V. Komin Anarkhizm v Rossii op.cit., pp.224-225. As a result of this, Trotsky declared the whole Makhnovist movement outlawed in June. Subsequent tactical compromises by the Bolsheviks meant that Makhno was outlawed altogether three times. For more on Nabat, see P. Avrich The Russian Anarchists op.cit., pp.204-209.
22. M. Kubanin Makhnovshchina op.cit., p.92.

23. G.P. Maksimov The Guillotine at Work op.cit., pp.358,412-422,431; D.L. Golinkov Krushenie antisovetskogo podpol'ia v SSSR op.cit., p.408.
24. Those arrested included Voline (who had already been arrested in January 1920, when only Krestynskii, who had known Voline as a student, saved him from being shot) and Olga Taratuta, the famous Café Libman bomber from Odessa. G.P. Maksimov The Guillotine at Work op.cit., pp. 121,361.

The full terms of the pact signed against Wrangel can be found ibid., pp.124-126.

25. Ibid., pp.162-164,189-190,194,361,454-455, 473-478. Some pro-Soviet groups were allowed to survive until the end of NEP, ibid., pp.361-362. 13 anarchists in the Taganka, including Voline, Maksimov and Iarchuk, staged a hunger-strike, which led to all of them being deported in 1921, ibid., pp.478-503. See also Gonenia na anarkhizm op.cit., pp.27-63 for descriptions of anarchists arrested by the Bolsheviks.
26. One who did neither, however, was Lev Chernyi, who continued to head a group of underground anarchists in Moscow until September 1921, when he was arrested and shot for perpetrating a large-scale bank raid and for attempting to print false money. D.L. Golinkov Krushenie antisovetskogo podpol'ia v SSSR op.cit., pp.509-511.
27. Voline The Unknown Revolution op.cit., pp.173-178,209-210.

28. Ibid., pp.211-212. P. Arshinov History of the Makhnovist Movement op.cit., pp.40-44,67-70, 76-77. G.P. Maksimov The Guillotine at Work op.cit., pp.21,23-26,34,346.

29. That the Russian anarchists were aware of this emphasis can be seen, for instance, in D. Novomirskii Iz programmyi sindikal'nogo anarkhizma op.cit., pp.6-15.

30. See, for example, Voline The Unknown Revolution op.cit., pp.127-156,160-161. P. Arshinov History of the Makhnovist Movement op.cit., pp.40,42,69,76; A. Berkman The Russian Tragedy (Berlin, 1922) pp.13-15,17.

31. This is the view expressed in M. Nomad in his Apostles of Revolution (Secker and Warburg, 1939) p.210. He described the revolution as "the victory of Bakuninist unculture over Marxist culture". See also A. Gorelik Anarkhisty v russiiskoi revoliutsii (Argentina, 1922) pp.11-12.

32. G.P. Maksimov The Guillotine at Work op.cit., pp.343-346.

33. P. Avrich The Russian Anarchists op.cit., p.142. See also G. Woodcock and I. Avakumovic The Anarchist Prince op.cit., p.402; D. Guerin Anarchism: From Theory to Practice (Monthly Press Review, 1970), pp.82-83; J.D. Forman Anarchism: Political Innocence or Social Violence (New York, 1975), pp.36-37.

34. A good example of an over-generalisation with respect to the potential strength of anarchism can be found in L. Schapiro The Origin of the Communist Autocracy op.cit., p.182, where the author suggests that anarchism's "unpractical idealism and impatient, if understandable, dislike of authority, held powerful attraction for the Russians".
35. F.I. Kaplan Bolshevik Ideology and the Ethics of Soviet Labour op.cit., pp.147-148,169-170.
36. Voline The Unknown Revolution op.cit., p.187. See also P. Arshinov History of the Makhnovist Movement op.cit., p.39,242-245.
37. For example, see E. Iaroslavskii History of Anarchism in Russia op.cit., p.49; V.V. Komin Anarkhizm v Rossii op.cit., p.131.
38. P. Arshinov History of the Makhnovist Movement op.cit., p.228.
39. P. Avrich The Russian Anarchists op.cit., p.253. For similar appraisals see also F.I. Kaplan Bolshevik Ideology and the Ethics of Soviet Labour op.cit., pp.168-169; I.L. Horowitz ed. The Anarchists op.cit., pp.26,590; J. Joll The Anarchists op.cit., pp.12,277.
40. The idealistic elements of Kropotkin's philosophy are frequently cited by Soviet scholars as an explanation for Russian anarchism's political bankruptcy. See, for instance, F.I.

40. continued:
Polianskii Kritika ekonomicheskikh teorii
anarkhizma op.cit., pp.166-167.
41. P. Avrich The Russian Anarchists op.cit.,
p.254.
42. G. Woodcock Anarchism op.cit., pp.399-400.

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MOSCOW:

Tsentral'nyi Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Oktiabr'skoi Revoliutsii SSSR (TsGAOR).

(The Central State Archive of the October Revolution of the USSR).

In particular, the following fonds were especially pertinent to this study:-

f.102:- The Okhrana files on the anarchist movement 1906-1917.

f.472:- The minutes of the Congresses of the Factory Committees, 1917-1918.

f.1129:- Kropotkin's correspondence.

LENINGRAD:

Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv Leningradskoi Oblasti (GIALO).

(The State Historical Archive of the Leningrad Region).

Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Oktiabr'skoi Revoliutsii Leningradskoi Oblasti (GAORLO).

(The State Archive of the October Revolution of the Leningrad Region).

In addition, a three-month Social Science Research Council grant in the summer of 1977 enabled me to read valuable anarchist journals and newspapers in the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam. The main library used in Britain was the British Library in London.

The bibliography is split into 3 sections:-

- 1) Anarchist journals and newspapers.
- 2) Russian-language books and journal articles.
- 3) English-language books and journal articles.

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